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The Journal of Educational Sociology

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS AND INFORMAL EDUCATION

FREDERIC M. THRASHER, *Issue Editor*

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EDITORIAL

The study of the social backgrounds of the school child is an important application of sociology to education. It emphasizes the sociological principle that no child develops in a social vacuum and that public education, if it is to function effectively, must take account of what happens to children at home, at work, and during leisure-time hours. It makes clear the fact that the school as an institution is an integral part of local social organization and, to be successful, must be responsive to local community needs.

The important point is the general failure of educational agencies to see the whole community and its needs. The clear lesson which the study of social backgrounds and informal influences has to offer professional education is the necessity for more careful educational planning, guided by sociological findings based on research. The same careful attention now given to teaching methods and internal school organization needs to be applied to the performance of social functions and the integration of the program of the school with the social structures and processes of the community. It is one thing to give philosophical recognition to this principle; it is quite another matter to apply the principle in practice on the basis of actual research findings.

FREDERIC M. THRASHER

SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS AND INFORMAL EDUCATION

FREDERIC M. THRASHER

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Culture is the outstanding fact about human life. Man is not born human, but human nature is a superstructure which is developed by social interaction in groups of people. Most facts have meaning and significance only as they are defined by the cultural backgrounds in which they occur—by that consensus of social heritages composed of folkways and mores, groups and institutions, and fashions and public opinions which make up society. Here we have a basic sociological principle which explains why biological and psychological facts, in themselves, are not important to human beings.

Mental defectiveness, insanity, epilepsy, disease, deformity, and even life and death, for example, have significance for human beings only in the light of their social definitions. Thus, epilepsy has been socially defined at different times and places as oracular insight into the future, as religious inspiration, as witchcraft, as dangerous or repulsive abnormality, or as an unfortunate malfunctioning of the organism which demands sympathy and scientific medical attention. Life may be held dearly or cheaply depending upon group definitions and social heritages. To die for one's country may be given significance of a particular character. Ceremonial or institutionalized suicide as practised in Japan, India, and China illustrates the point.

Japan, China, and India until recently each had forms of suicide which were socially approved, committed in public with ceremony, and whose omission was not only "bad form," but cause for disgrace. The Hindu widow who burned herself on the funeral pyre of her husband or the Chinese widow who hanged herself in public may not have felt sufficiently grieved to kill herself; yet many widows in both India and China have killed themselves and been publicly honored for so doing. The Japanese warrior who killed himself when he and his lord faced defeat may have had many reasons for wishing to continue to live; yet

he followed the code of his class and died by his own hand, sometimes with hundreds of his comrades. These suicides are performed at the command of the social group and are usually related to crises in the life of the group; they have only an indirect relation to personal interests and wishes.¹

It may be more important to maintain one's social status than to live; this is a reversal of the process of natural selection. This is societal selection.

Informal education. Most of the definitions of facts (social values) which the group gives its new members are not acquired through the formal processes of education as exemplified in schools and other educational agencies. Rather, they are the result of the universal process of social interaction which is expressed in face-to-face non-verbal contacts, but more largely through various types of communication which use social symbols or collective representations. It is this informal education which results in the transmission of the great body of folk knowledge and practical experience, which is utilized in daily life and in contacts with one's neighbors. Such informal educative processes are not intentional and are quite unconscious. Yet, it is through such processes that the great mass of nontechnical knowledge is acquired, and they are so effective that the personality and character of the child are shaped by them in a thousand different ways.

Social contagion. The processes of informal education are so pervasive and ubiquitous that they often assume the form of social contagion. In this way habits, attitudes, sentiments, ideas, and beliefs spread through a given group or stratum of society by interaction as if they had the epidemic qualities of a contagious disease. The processes of conditioning and imitation which underly social contagion are well known. Yet the reality of this process and its implications have not been realized in the development of educational procedures.

To apply this principle to a specific situation, we may point out the spread of delinquent attitudes, habits, and behavior patterns in the delinquency areas which have been delimited in many ecological studies of urban communities.

¹Ruth Shonle Cavan, *Suicide* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928), p. 3.

It is one thing to understand the nature and sources of origin of attitudes and behavior patterns of the criminal. It is quite another matter to understand the processes whereby these attitudes and culture patterns are assimilated. This type of analysis is very important to education and crime prevention because it reveals crimino-genetic factors in their logical sequences.

The processes of social contagion so important in conditioning the work of the public school are well illustrated in Intervale,² an area in New York City. The reasons for a comparatively high rate of juvenile delinquency in Intervale become clearer from an examination of the basic facts about the area and of the life, activities, and interests of children and young people in the district. The key to the situation with regard to the prevalence of boy delinquency lies in understanding the extent and nature of the social contagion which is prevalent in this congested area. There are no normal boys in Intervale who are *individuals*; there are only *social beings*, whose characters and personalities are completely dominated by the multiform social influences which make up the complex of local life in this district. The life of children and adolescents in the area is distinctly group life, but it is a group life that does not belong to the conventional controls of the adult community. The groups and institutions which exert wholesome control in the normal community, such as the family, the school, the church, or the normal community, as the family, the school, the church, or recreation, are disorganized or inadequate to the needs of boys in this area.

The lack of attractive home life and of other effective wholesome leisure-time interests makes it inevitable that a very large proportion of the boy population from the earliest ages up spends its time on the streets. The younger boys play on the sidewalks and in the streets in their own blocks. This play takes place after school in the afternoon and, in many cases, until late at night; during vacation time, of course, it goes on all day long. The older boys from twelve years up, in addition to playing in their own blocks, are likely to range about throughout the area, visiting many different points which interest them, including the roofs of buildings, vacant buildings, the parks, the wharves and the river front, and all types of institutions of commercialized recreation. In this region New York differs from Chicago in that it has no alleys in which play and delinquency can take place. There is no lack of "hide-outs," however, and the roofs constitute an effective substitute.

Summer street play in this area is varied and active. The most popular street game, in spite of the difficulties and hazards of city traffic and interference by the police, is the universally played stickball. This is seldom played on the north and south streets which are the heavy

²Intervale is a local community in New York City in which extensive social-background studies have been carried on for the past six years by the department of educational sociology of New York University. The name Intervale is fictitious. The findings of these studies, it is hoped, will be published as monographs in the proposed Intervale Series. The first of these, by the author of this article, will be entitled, *Intervale: a Focus of Urban Pathology*.

traffic arteries, but takes place on the cross blocks (east and west), where the streets are less encumbered with transportation lines of various types and where the traffic is less constant.

In Intervale the large number of boys who by choice or necessity play in the streets creates a situation in which social interaction is intense, constant, and ubiquitous. There comes into being as a result a community of children and youths which continues and develops from year to year independently of adult groups and institutions. It is not distinguishable as a community externally, but it is a consensus of ideas, attitudes, and activities. Although influenced strongly by the local adult world, it is a milieu, a social world, separate and apart from the diverse cultures and adult social structures of this area. It is, however, the real world of the boy and the young man and, as informal education, it probably represents the most powerful set of social and moral forces which function in the development of youthful behavior patterns and personalities in this district. It is the social complex within which delinquent activities flourish and within which the delinquent personality is largely developed. An analysis of this social world and the various factors which enter into it, therefore, is essential.

The easy mobility of boys from one block to another and the congestion of population in each block make it simple for a boy to move from his old social complex to another without being recognized in the new one. He may be well known in his own block or immediate neighborhood, but may quickly achieve anonymity by going to another block or neighborhood. This loss of identity in going from one group or area to another has the virtual effect of removing any local group controls which may have been built up in the boy's home bailiwick. In contrast with this situation, it is the constancy and permanence of local social controls which, in part, explains why there is practically no juvenile delinquency in the peasant communities of Europe from which many of the residents of Intervale have migrated. The children of the self-same groups in America show high delinquency rates. In the peasant community in Europe the mobility of the child is strictly limited; he is known and he cannot achieve an anonymity which enables him to engage in disapproved activities. In America these controls have broken down and the boy, at least, is foot-loose and free to roam about and engage in the predatory practices which are so strongly suggested by his local environment.

This discussion of the anonymity and mobility which are possible in delinquency areas suggests the operation of selective factors which act both to retain and to attract criminal and underworld elements as well as to develop them. This selective influence of delinquency areas has been suggested by Donald R. Taft as a result of his study of Danville, Illinois.³ Admitting that the delinquency areas in any city attract outside criminals, it seems quite likely that these outsiders also come from other delinquency areas in the same or other cities; so that we have in effect exchanges of criminals going on between delinquency areas. The

³Donald R. Taft, "Testing the Selective Influence of Areas of Delinquency," *American Journal of Sociology* (March 1933), p. 699.

delinquency area still appears to be the breeding place for criminals. Interlocking criminal activities between delinquency areas in the same city and between these areas in different cities are common.

The social contagion in Intervale which results in an intimate knowledge on the part of boys of delinquency and crime as well as the inculcation of delinquent attitudes and behavior patterns does not proceed by the method of formal precept; it is transmitted in conversation and mutual excitation as well as through participation in common activities. Delinquency is intensified by the contact of the delinquent with other delinquents and with criminals. Likewise, the nondelinquent is assimilated to delinquency through these multitudinous social contacts. The process is informal education *par excellence* and is more effective (along the lines to be indicated) than any type of formal education carried on by social institutions established for wholesome purposes.

Mutual excitation through conversation (accompanied by sense perception) is a behavior mechanism of great importance in this area. It prepares the way for action which results in delinquency. Through conversation on the streets and in the innumerable hangouts of the area, moreover, is transmitted to delinquents and nondelinquents alike a vast store of ideas, beliefs, and attitudes which condition all behavior and all efforts of social and educational agencies to deal with young people in this area. This is an important part of the daily psychic nutrition which results in the growth and organization of a personality content which eventually defines all situations for the person (the boy).

To the observer of the disorderly and ever changing street life of Intervale, the juvenile community may appear to be inchoate and amorphous. This is an external point of view. The study of case-study materials on boys of the area, records of personal interviews with participants in local life, and observations by boys who have been reared in various parts of the district indicates that there is in this area a considerable degree of organization in a sociological sense, although the patterns of organization are constantly changing. This organization is largely embodied in casual groups, play groups, street gangs, athletic teams, and social clubs, or is centered about neighborhood institutions such as the candy stores, pool rooms, and a variety of business establishments which serve as hangouts and centers of conversation.

The situation with regard to juvenile gangs in this area is almost identical with that in the gangland areas of Chicago.⁴ No block in the area where there are many boys is without its gang and in many cases the gangs in a single heavily populated block are numerous. The life and interests of these gang boys closely parallels what was found in the Chicago study; the chief difference seems to be that the older gangs, while very powerful in Intervale, have not yet succeeded in getting so complete a control as they have in many local areas in Chicago. As in Chicago, the older gangs tend to become conventionalized into social and athletic clubs which rent storerooms as meeting places and become closely related to criminal and racketeering activities.

⁴See Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang: A Study of 1,313 Gangs in Chicago* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927), 571 pp.

Social backgrounds. A complicating factor for all educational programs in the American community is the number and variety of different social backgrounds which give conflicting definitions of social values. Among preliterate peoples and in simple European peasant communities cultural confusion is largely absent. There is a consistent series of social definitions which govern all human activities. In the American city, on the contrary, we find a kaleidoscopic variety of natural areas representing many diverse cultural and nationality backgrounds which do not mutually support each other in the social definitions which they are accustomed to impart to their children. A further confusion is brought about by the concurrence of many different social worlds, not ecologically defined necessarily, but **existing more or less independently in the same community.** These social worlds, although of many types, often take on the character of racial or nationality groupings. Of importance also are the occupational groupings such as those of the artist, the working classes represented by various labor organizations, the teachers, lawyers, the underworld, the Bohemians, and so on. For the child there are a variety of social backgrounds which are important in defining for him (and in forming his basic knowledge about) himself and the world in which he lives, his attitudes and philosophy of life, his personality traits, and his traits of character. Limitations of space make possible the mentioning of only a few of these backgrounds.

The play group, the gang, and the casual group of the street and its related institutions are among the most important sources of informal education for children living in the interstitial areas of our cities and towns, as well as in the so-called interstitial cities of our geographical regions. Within the interstitial or delinquency area one often finds a concentration of demoralizing influences in a circumscribed neighborhood (known popularly as a "tough section"), on a given street, or within a social block. Some of these areas have distinct criminalistic traditions which define social values for children of the district. It is very

important for school officials and teachers to know just where these "tough spots" are and what influences are emanating from them in order that the program of the school may be organized on a preventive basis. Yet it is unfortunately true that teachers and school officials usually have only a superficial knowledge of the neighborhoods which they serve and this knowledge is organized in terms of individual pupils rather than in sociological terms of the characteristics and needs of local groups and institutions and of the neighborhood and community as a whole.

These demoralizing influences often work themselves out, as already indicated, as forms of social contagion. The gang boy, for example, definitely acquires typical personality traits. He gets a knowledge of the technique of crime and he builds up a philosophy of life involving cynicism, disrespect for law and authority, and a certain aggressiveness and independence which make him a difficult problem for the socializing forces of the community. It is in such casual contacts and informal group association that the boy on the street often becomes inured to excitement so that it is very difficult for the school, the playground, the boys' club, or the scout troop to compete with the excitement to which he has become habituated. Such a situation creates for the educational and preventive agencies of the community a special problem which has only been dimly recognized by those responsible for these programs. The street gives no diplomas and grants no degrees, but it educates with fatal precision, and it is questionable as to whether or not the school or any other agency of formal education has yet discovered the method of coping successfully with the informal educative processes which take place during leisure-time hours.

Another important social background has grown out of the almost universal use of the automobile. It has given rise to a high degree of mobility among children and young people which is a comparatively recent phenomenon. Mobility within limited areas is a well-known fact in interstitial districts, but the automobile, so widely available to children of all social classes, has increased the range and

types of casual contacts and the opportunity for unguided group activities of young people of all ages. The unchaperoned use of the family car has developed a particular type of group phenomenon and a consequent educational process which undoubtedly has a far-reaching effect upon the habits, attitudes, and ideals of adolescents. Recreation for young people who have access to automobiles has been greatly extended in geographical scope and in variety of types from which selection may be made. The playground for young people residing in smaller towns has become their home state or their geographical section. The local community is no longer the unit of recreational activity for large numbers of adolescents. This type of mobility means a high degree of anonymity with a consequent lessening of primary group and local community controls. A similar situation exists on a smaller scale in those highly mobile areas of congested sections of large cities where a boy may not be known outside of his own social block. The result in either case is in sharp contrast with the close control of the earlier American community or of the European peasant community, which maintains its control as long as the mobility of its members is restricted and the primary group unbroken.

Other important social backgrounds which have great significance for educational and recreational programs are the various types of commercialized recreation, including the pool room, the dance hall, the candy store, and the local eating place, which may become a center of informal education and social contagion. The pool room in congested areas in large cities has been shown to be a focus of social infection representing the point at which crime often has its genesis. The taxi-dance hall may be a source of social contagion with regard to sex information and practices. Any institution which serves as a congregating place for children may be regarded as a possible center of social contagion. From such points ideas, attitudes, and behavior patterns may be put into effective circulation.

Consider the case of the motion-picture theater as an example of an important social background representing commercialized recreation.

Its social rôle in a local community has been carefully studied in connection with the social-backgrounds studies of New York University.⁵ As a result of this and the other Payne Fund Studies the motion picture has been revealed as one of the most potent educational forces in American life. We are not referring to the educational film, so-called, designed for classroom instruction, but to the theater film which is produced for profit because of its entertainment appeal. The average weekly audience of the American cinema is estimated as approximating 75,000,000, more than one third of whom are under twenty-one years of age. It is estimated that about 11,000,000, or 17 per cent of the total weekly movie audience of the country, are children under fourteen years of age. These children learn facts, or what they take for facts, extensively from the movies and they retain the knowledge thus acquired. While the behavior of children is affected in different ways by motion pictures depending upon their different social backgrounds and their varied personality and temperamental characteristics, it has been shown that their social attitudes are changed as a result of viewing films and that these changes are cumulative and tend to be permanent. While the effects of motion pictures upon children possessing certain types of personalities has been demonstrated, their effects upon the conduct of normal children are not so clear, especially in the field of delinquency. The carry-over from the films into mannerisms, dress, play activities, sex attitudes, and behaviors, etc., however, seems to be very great. There can be no question, therefore, but that the motion picture represented in the entertainment film is one of the most powerful educational influences in American life and constitutes a source of informal education and social contagion which deeply affects many fields of cultural transmission.

The recognition of the importance of the educative influence of motion pictures came first from the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures, which recently celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. For twenty-five years this organization has been occupied with a campaign to improve the public taste in pictures by selecting and recommending those films which possess recognized qualities of excellence. It has also stimulated the wider use of the motion picture in the field of visual education. Many other agencies are now occupied with the use of motion pictures of all types for recreational and educational purposes. The formation of better films committees and local councils has taken place in many communities and, in some States, there is a movement to federate these local organizations on a State-wide basis. Agencies, such as the Motion Picture Research Council, are occupied with the problems of the development of the films in the direction of greater social usefulness. The National Council of the Teachers of English is sponsoring a plan, through its Committee on Photoplay Appreciation, for the study of photoplay appreciation through English classes in high schools throughout the country. Colleges and universities are turning their attention

⁵The results of this study will be set forth in a volume by Paul G. Cressey and Frederic M. Thrasher, *Boys, Movies, and City Streets*. (To be published by the Macmillan Company as one of the Payne Fund Studies on Motion Pictures and Youth.)

to the problem by the introduction of courses in motion-picture appreciation and the complete study of all phases of motion pictures.⁶ Yet, with all this activity, the professional educational world has been slow to recognize the vast potentialities of motion pictures and to relate educational programs to them.

The article by Cressey on the following pages indicates more fully the social rôle of the motion picture in a local community (Intervale). The functioning of the entertainment film as an instrument of informal education and of the moving-picture house as a social world are clearly depicted.

Among the most important of the social backgrounds which play such a vital part in the informal education of the school child are those centering around the various racial and nationality heritages transplanted into the racial colonies and immigrant areas of our cities. The very high percentages of foreign-born populations and their children in American industrial centers have created a wide variety of cultural backgrounds which color the problems of the education of children coming from these areas. Little Italy, Chinatown, and the Ghetto, which may be taken as illustrative of these numerous and contrasting social backgrounds, each have their own social values, brought to America from other lands and places and expressed in widely divergent attitudes and customs. Even within a single nationality grouping one finds wide differences in language, traditions, customs, and philosophies of life. These divergencies are well illustrated within the Italian and Jewish groups.

For the child who grows up in one of these transplanted old-world communities the definition of life and social values is necessarily somewhat confused. He is bound to acquire, however, much of the particular national culture of his old-world parents, enough to create special problems for the public schools, but not enough to assure the operation of old-world social controls. The socializing processes of the American community also fall short of achieving their complete purpose of adjustment to American standards of life and conduct. The result is, in some sense, at least, that

⁶Such a course, entitled *The Motion Picture and Education*, is now being given in New York University. In 1934-1935 the New York University School of Education will offer an enlarged course on *The Motion Picture: Its Artistic, Educational, and Social Aspects*, which will deal with every phase of the motion picture.

the child of the immigrant develops into a special type of what Robert E. Park calls the "marginal man." He is not a marginal personality in the sense that he is torn between yearning for and loyalty to two distinct cultures, as may be the case when a person with intellectual antecedents is transplanted from one highly developed culture to another. He is marginal in the sense that he has experienced something of two (or more) cultures without being thoroughly assimilated to either. He may, in some sense, be regarded as the product of a mongrel culture, a picture of which in American cities is presented in the mingling of discrete and uncongenial heritages which too often represent the poorest development of American life brought in conjunction with not too high-grade importations from abroad.

These observations suggest, if they do not specify, some of the problems faced by the public schools and other educational agencies of the American community whose province it is to serve the children of these areas. Here again formal education has been slow to take cognizance of these racial and nationality backgrounds in adaptations of curricula to different needs and capacities and in procedures dealing with the classification, development, and control of children who have been subjected to these varied types of informal education.

American education has been far too standardized to deal effectively with the problems created by different social backgrounds. It has been too little interested in making factual studies on which to base changes in curricula and educational procedures. It has been too little familiar with the studies along this line that have already been made and that would throw great light upon local problems if the teacher and school administrator could be brought to apply these methods and results to local school situations. Take, for example, the monumental work of William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki on the *Polish Peasant in Europe and America*. Here is a vast treasure house of knowledge essential to any teacher or administrator who deals with Polish children or Polish communities in America. Yet it

would be interesting to know how many educators in service have ever heard of this classic study.

Integration of social backgrounds. A very important phase of the problem of the relationship of social backgrounds to education has been almost entirely overlooked by teachers, social and recreational workers, and others who deal in a practical way with community problems. This is the fact that in any given community no single social influence or set of influences exists in a vacuum or in isolation. It is the interrelationship and integration of different social influences that give a community or neighborhood its unique qualities and its effectiveness as a social environment for the development not of individual children but of the whole group of children in the area in question.

This weakness is clearly illustrated in the problem of community planning for the leisure-time activities of children, but in general principle these critical observations apply equally to education, religion, government, economic organization, and other departments of human activity. Outstanding exceptions seem to lie in the field of health, where community health programs have been demonstrated.⁷

The forte of American social agencies has lain in their ability to visualize the needs and activities of individual children. Some high standards of excellence have been achieved in behavior and guidance clinics in dealing with the social maladjustments and special problems of individual children. With some notable exceptions,⁸ there has been little attempt to deal with the community conditions which produce maladjustments. This is in sharp contrast with the policy emphasized by the Soviet schools of concentrating upon the study and control of the social environment as well as upon the individual child (described in Lublinsky's article on the following pages).

⁷See, for example, *A Decade of District Health Center Pioneering*, the story of the East Harlem Health Center as a demonstration of the integration of all preventive activities in the field of health. The Health Center, throughout the entire period of its existence, has based its program on facts established by research and it has tested its results by the same method—a truly scientific procedure and one too often absent from educational and recreational programs.

⁸Among the exceptions are the excellent work of the Crime Prevention Bureau of the New York City Police Department under the direction of Henrietta Additon, Deputy Police Commissioner, and the crime-prevention program centering around the public school developed by Nathan Peyser, Principal of Public School 181 (Brooklyn) and now adopted by the New York City Principal's Association.

While guidance and behavior clinics have conceived the child largely in individualistic terms, they have succeeded, to some extent in dealing with the whole child; that is, in treating every phase of his character and personality in their plans for his adjustment. Although they have often overlooked the total situation in which he must function, they have at least seen him as a whole. Schools and recreational agencies, on the other hand, often have not only conceived of the child in individualistic terms, that is, as if he were functioning more or less in a social vacuum, but also, to make matters worse, have seen only that particular aspect of his character and personality with which it was their function to deal. It is easy to say that one should see the whole child in the total situation but it is hard actually to accomplish the feat, for it requires study and research as well as an open mind and more than a facile desire to do homage to the latest slogans of progressive education. Even after this point is thoroughly understood, the most difficult task remains; that is, the formulation and the execution of an educational or recreational program which thoroughly recognizes the whole child and the total situation and which is based upon local factual studies prompted by such recognition. But, to proceed with our example:

A recreational program for the children of a given community, if it is to be scientifically valid, must be based upon a complete study of the leisure-time activities and needs of all children and all sections of such a community. Furthermore, and this is a prime essential, it must discover the relationship of recreational activities to other phases of community life. It must visualize, also, their proper integration with racial and nationality heritages and differences, with economic levels in the population, with occupational and religious groups, etc. Most recreational agencies have been content to pursue their particular policies in the service of their own clienteles, not neglecting the problem of harmonious relations with other institutions, but largely unaware of the problem of the real integration and articulation of their programs with the activities of other agencies in an attempt to do a well-rounded recreational job for all the children in the community. Most recreational institutions, with notable exceptions, have been pursuing individual courses, narrowed by institutional "blindness," which have prevented them from looking either to the right or the left. The result in many cases has been a high degree of institutional efficiency, but a failure of all such institutions combined in a given area to do a good piece of recre-

ational work for the whole community. The weakness obviously lies in a failure to visualize the total community situation and in the absence of community organization in any real sense.

The concrete results of this situation in a given community are disturbing. One sees hundreds and often thousands of children entirely missed by recreational agencies and often these children are those who are most in need of organized leisure-time activities. They are missed because they are nobody's responsibility. No agency knows how many children of different ages there actually are on a given block and to what extent their leisure-time needs are being provided for. The agencies usually take as participants the children who come to them either spontaneously or as a result of special membership drives. In either case many are lost. The percentages of children who drop out of recreational programs are surprisingly large, and the extent to which they go from one agency to another without ever getting the benefits of permanent connections with any is great. One of the reasons for excessive turnover is the absence of a coöperative community approach to the problem of recreational organization.

Not only in children missed and children lost do the ill effects of the lack of recreational planning on a community basis arise, but also in the uneconomic use of recreational facilities. We have the spectacle of long lines of boys waiting to use gymnasium facilities with other gymnasiums not too far away entirely unused at the same hour. We have thousands of children playing in crowded traffic streets with the facilities of a near-by park or playground practically unused. We have little used streets which could easily be roped off as play streets; yet children near by are playing stickball in the midst of constant traffic hazards. We have city-owned vacant lots lying idle and unsightly in congested areas having a dearth of outdoor recreational facilities. We have school buildings, schoolrooms, and school recreational facilities in congested areas or in districts with no recreational facilities closed to children after three o'clock in the afternoon, on Saturdays, Sundays, holidays, and in vacation time; for the lack of some one to supervise after school or vacation activities or for the lack of the modest sum which would be required to make such facilities available. We have excellent recreational facilities curtailing their services or closing up on Sundays, holidays, and during the summer vacation when children are most likely to be subjected to the demoralizing influences of the streets. Who knows the recreational resources of a given neighborhood or community? Who can advise a child in need of or in search of a leisure-time program as to how he can plan to spend his leisure hours in a wholesome and interesting way? There is no one in the community, for the most part, who has either the facts or the experience to perform this type of much needed service. *We suggest a sociologically trained recreational adviser for every school.*

The type of research necessary to bring together the facts upon which to base a scientific community leisure-time program is illustrated in the study of Hatterstown by John Fox, who has reported on some phases of his investigation in an article appearing in the following pages. After researches have been made, however, there still remains the problem

of educating the community and the agencies themselves to the point of modifying wasteful individualistic policies and uniting in a coöperative effort to formulate a comprehensive community program dictated by the facts. The human-nature obstacles to the realization of this ideal cannot be brushed aside lightly, to be sure, but constructive imagination which proceeds upon a very sound basis of facts will go far towards solving the problem.

A growing recognition of a certain degree of failure in reaching the boy on the local block has led some of the more progressive recreational agencies to attempt to go to the boy, rather than to entice the boy to come to the building. With characteristic vision Greenwich House, one of the pioneering social settlements of New York City, has led the way in the development of a block recreational plan in an attempt to deal with the leisure-time needs of the boy in his local block. This program is briefly described in an article by Frank Kaplan on the following pages. A somewhat analagous effort to organize recreation on the local block is described by Abraham Goldfeld in one of the following articles, dealing with the "penny-game-room" experiment. Goldfeld has visualized the future housing development as including building plans for facilities for specific recreational activities, and his approach gains added significance in the light of the movement in New York City and elsewhere for public and private projects for slum clearance.

All these studies have far-reaching significance for the public schools. Lublinsky in the following article indicates how the studies of social backgrounds and informal education have been approached and developed by the educational program of the Soviet Union. The study of the social backgrounds of school children is well developed in Bulgaria where a specialized chair in this subject has been established in the University. In the United States a wealth of material is already available to students of social backgrounds, but most of the studies undertaken in this country have been made without any definite educational aims. A number of exploratory studies of social backgrounds of the school and the school child are now under way in New York University. They include studies of the Upper East Side, Middle East Side, and Lower West Side* of Manhattan (New York City), and studies of suburban communities including Millburn and Madison, New Jersey, Darien, Connecticut, and Hastings-on-Hudson, New York. These pioneering studies are being made with particular emphasis upon the applicability of their findings to educational problems.

*A brief description of the Lower West Side Study is to be found in this issue of *THE JOURNAL*, pp. 516-520.

SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS OF SCHOOL CHILDREN IN SOVIET RUSSIA

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The interest in the study of social backgrounds of school children in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is a direct reflection of the Marxian theory, which forms the base of Soviet pedagogy. This theory regards the personality as a product of the dialectic interaction between the changing social conditions, varying under the influence of the development of productive powers and the growth of the individual self, actively influencing its environment. During recent years the methods of study of this interaction have been subjected to attentive investigation and research in Soviet pedagogical literature.

There are two ways of approaching such a study. The first is conditioned by the mere practical needs of school practice. The second expresses an attempt to get knowledge of the factors determining informal education of children out of school, simultaneously with the course of formal school education. This extraschool influence of the social environment is often termed as the "great pedagogical process," in contrast with the deliberate school instruction directed by the thoroughly elaborated curricula.

The first type of investigation of social environment is carried on in the Soviet school practice for the following purposes:

1. At the time of school enrollment and in the beginning of every subsequent school year, a small questionnaire is distributed among the school children, including questions concerning the social status, kind of professional work, amount of wages or the income of both parents, and the number of family members of the school child. This questionnaire, after being answered by the parents and duly certified, is used as a base of rude classification of children in regard to their social and economical situation.

2. The children of the economically less prosperous or indigent parents have, according to the Soviet laws, the privilege of getting special support from the school in the form of gratuitous school luncheons, textbooks, and other auxiliary school-teaching material; these children are entitled to free garments, shoes, tramway tickets, etc. At every school is formed a Contributory Board, consisting of the parents of children elected to the board, school teachers and representatives of social organizations, which meets every few weeks. This board collects the money, which provides the support for the children in need. The members of the board investigate every case to verify the real economical conditions of the child's home, applying the technique of investigation usually accepted by welfare organizations.

3. All school children, at regular intervals of one or two years, are examined by the school doctor and medical commissions for prophylactic purposes. Those children who are retarded in their physical growth or who have symptoms of social diseases or suffer from malnutrition are also investigated by a school nurse, who visits their homes, studies the conditions of their home life and social environment from the point of view of social hygiene, and makes a plan for their improvement.

4. So-called Stations for Children's Protection have been formed recently in every school in Leningrad, Moscow, and other principal cities. The task of those newly formed institutions is¹ (a) to discover and investigate truant or problem children, (b) to organize supervision and special educational guidance for them and their families, (c) to supervise mass pedagogical work of parent education, (d) to develop different forms of extraclass and extraschool activities and recreations for children, (e) to organize prophylactic action in combating juvenile delinquency and street gangs in the town district to which the school belongs.

Every Children's Protective Station is made up of a chairman who also is the director of educational work in

¹All the child-welfare organizations in the U. S. S. R. are now merged into a general All Russian Society of Friends of Children, which has thousands of local branches.

the school, several school pedagogical workers, two or three teachers, the supervisor of extraclass work, representatives of the Society of the Friends of Children, several members of the Young Communists' League, the district inspector of child protection, and several delegates of main industrial factories in the district of the school. The station workers investigate the individual cases of truancy, delinquency, school maladjustment, etc., using the case-study method. They also make surveys and special investigations of the vicinity of the school, discovering the hang-outs of boys' gangs, suspected houses of prostitution, saloons, the character of commercialized recreational establishments, cinemas, etc., frequented by the children of the area. In studying the individual (problem) child, the investigation usually must discover and state the social and work attitudes of the members of the child's family, their economic and cultural level, mutual relations and types of conflict of the family members and the child, the character of home education and supervision, etc. In making surveys of the town district, maps marking the places where special attention of child-welfare organizations or child-protective workers is needed are made. An attempt is then made to liquidate so-called "herds" of juvenile delinquency by planned social and pedagogical action. The services of the station may be grouped in the following classifications:

- a) Educational, medical, and "societal" action, in relation to the *child*
- b) General support for the child's *family* (social support, supervision, parent education, compulsory medical treatment, administrative control and judicial proceedings)
- c) Supervision of the *school* (improvement of school supervision and individual work, elimination of the different defects in the school, which sometimes produce bad conduct and negative attitudes in school children)
- d) Supervision of *extraschool* activities of children (organization of playgrounds, boys' and girls' clubs, good recreational opportunities, prolongation of the school day, etc.)
- e) Planning measures of general improvement of the *district* (liquidation of the vice and crime herds, anti-alcoholism campaigns, extermination of old primitive family customs, such as treating the wife and children as domestic slaves, etc.)

5. Children of elementary-school age who are to be transferred to special classes or schools because of inferior mental ability or bad conduct must be previously examined in

the Institute of Children's Study or in the city pedagogical laboratories. A special social worker, a member of the institutional staff, makes a study of the children's home conditions and social environment in the past and present, in order to discover the factors conditioning such mental inferiority or lack of discipline. A special history is filed in every such case.

6. The next kind of practical investigation of social environment in the Soviet schools is an investigation conducted in connection with the vocational guidance of pupils. This investigation is a part of a vocational-guidance program, the purpose of which is to discover vocational tendencies and attitudes of the youth. The social part of this program contains the description of the main interests, social and professional traits of the pupil; a description of the social, cultural, and vocational history of the members of his family; special data of importance for the child's professional choice; the character of his friends and mates in the school, etc. All these data are collected by means of a detailed questionnaire, answered by the subject under an investigator's supervision, by interviews with his parents, and by findings of different vocational tests.

7. A thorough social investigation, as a rule, is also conducted in the case of juvenile delinquents (not attending school) previous to the hearing of their cases before the Minors' Commissions, which replaced the former system of children's courts, modeled after the American pattern.² These investigations are made by a special officer of the Commission, called investigating educator, who is very similar to the American probation officer, the only difference being that the investigating educator is a member of the Minors' Commission and takes part in the final deliberation

²Minors' Commissions were introduced in Soviet Russia soon after the October Revolution in the beginning of the year 1918. Since that time the laws governing their constitution and function were modified, and now they are regulated by an act of July 11, 1931. According to this law, the staff of the Commission consists of an experienced pedagogical worker as a president, a physician especially connected with the children's institutions, a Justice of the People's Court (American district judge), one or several investigating educators, and representatives of the Society of Friends of Children, Young Communists' League, and the local Council of Trade Unions. The Commission is competent to hear and determine all cases of children below sixteen years of age. The Commission applies only measures of medico-pedagogical character; imprisonment cannot be discerned. This commission is also a local center of child protection in every city or town.

of medico-pedagogical measures adopted for the child. If the boy or the girl attends school the investigation usually is made by one of the members of the Children's Protective Station. The investigating educators investigate also all criminal cases in which the health, the security, and the sexual integrity of children are involved, as, for instance, cases of cruelty to children, desertion of children, sex offenses against children, etc.

I shall not describe the technique of investigation of social or home environment used in the above mentioned practical situations because the technique is analogous to that used in the United States in similar cases. I only wish to mention that the attention of the social investigator usually is directed not so much to material attributes of the home or neighborhood of the child as to his interaction with other persons and with members of his family particularly.

A much more complex and difficult problem is presented by the study of the social environment of the school child for purposes of modifying the "large social environment," which informally educates the child. Our educational scientists do not consider such environment as something hardened or unchangeable like the hereditary traits of a man. On the contrary, they think that the "large social environment" can be changed by conscious and deliberate intervention of human activities, carried on not only by means of legislative acts or administrative control, but mainly by educational and cultural influences exercised on the different classes of the population, which are carriers of certain traditional, social conceptions, beliefs, habits, and behavior attitudes. In the pedagogical literature of Soviet Russia, one can find even a special term "environmental pedagogy," which supposes that the social environment, like a pupil himself, may be educationally influenced by deliberate and effective methods.

In order to influence the social environment, however, one must begin with studying it just as one studies the individual who is to be educated. Mere statistical methods—methods of mass quantitative measurements—cannot be

directly used because the components of the social environment do not have physical characteristics and until now they have not been precisely defined. It is necessary, therefore, to make, in the first place, an analysis of different social units (such as a family, group, corporation, town, village, etc.) from the point of view of their characteristic traits and elements. In the second place, it is necessary to make a qualitative evaluation of different types of social units and their elements according to their eventual effects on the social development and social conduct of an individual who lives in such environment. Finally, the student must learn how to make appropriate combinations and sum up these environmental values to simplify the too large quantity of these distinct denominators of social environment.

In the Soviet literature there are several essays which try to construct "the profile" of social environment, analogous to the profiles used for the summary of pedagogical data on children. Lack of space does not allow me to give even a short summary of these essays. I shall give only a brief account of the scheme, as described in my book on this question, published a few years ago.³

The social environment educating the child is like a child itself; it is always in the process of continuous growth. This environment gradually becomes a field of larger and more complicated social connections. To the age of two to three years, the child's development proceeds exclusively in its home or family circle. All social attitudes and connections of the child are conditioned by the character of its parents and kindred. This type of influence usually continues during the whole period of its immaturity. After the age of three years, however, the family home circle usually is supplemented by a new, small circle of the child's playmates (child's play circle). The shared play activity of the little boy helps him to develop certain emotional attitudes to the other little people's actions and the regular response to different play situations. In subsequent years this play circle becomes larger, the mode of activities

³P. Lublinsky, *Methods of the Social Investigation of Children* (Leningrad 1929).

changes, and the boy learns what we call the fair-play spirit in his partnership activity.

During the preschool age the boy gradually enters into the new social circle of the grown-up people, who visit his home or with whom he becomes acquainted during his visits or short interviews outside the home (neighborhood) circle. The new social connections give him a certain orientation in the larger social environment, composed of the people surrounding his family and the families of his playmates. The boy begins to compare the different social conditions, social standards, customs, and manners, thus making his first steps in social evaluation.

With school enlistment the child enters into the new circle of teachers and class comrades. Life and work in the school give him the opportunity to know the meaning of different social conceptions. He rationalizes his social reactions, develops the idea of social duty, fixes the habits of teamwork, acquires the knowledge of a social life far beyond his neighborhood in the past and in the present time. The school is an ordered child's community.

During the first years of adolescence (about twelve to thirteen), the boy enters a small, newly formed group of his pals or personal friends. This closed collective is a separate group having its own commonly shared interests, aims, and standards, different from and sometimes opposed to home and school standards. This little group, which under bad influence easily degenerates into the gang, is normally a station of social experimentation for the boys, where they form anew their social attitudes and values. The practice of such a group (or the pals circle) is a mighty determinator of the social conduct of boys and girls in the early adolescent years.

At the age of fifteen to sixteen years or later, according to local social conditions, the boy enters a professional or manual work life or apprenticeship; in other words, he is now in the circle of grown-up working people where he acquires the essential professional skills and habits.

We may, therefore, differentiate social backgrounds of the child, dividing them into six main life circles: (1)

family home; (2) playmates; (3) neighborhood; (4) school life; (5) pals group; (6) professional or work relations. Every such circle has a double function: (1) formative or educational, inasmuch as it contributes to the development and the growth of certain socially relevant psychological and behavioristic attitudes and qualities, and (2) protective, inasmuch as it affords to the growing child the needed care and protection against the dangerous and harmful influences and disorderly life. The social value of each circle is determined, therefore, by the grade of its educational or formative efficiency and by its protective capacity. The moments which strengthen and enlarge these social functions of the environment are positive values, and the moments which deform or destroy them are negative ones. This criterion gives the possibility of evaluating every component of the social environment in the whole and of each circle particularly. The widely accepted method of evaluation consists of a scheme of standardized descriptions of different types and levels, marked by points, from 1 to 5 for every important characteristic trait. Using a special letter for the denomination of each trait, one can make a short formula of the social backgrounds of every child. Certainly this formula will not give the whole picture, but it can signalize to the teacher or social worker feeble points of the social environment where educational or protective reinforcement or radical changes are needed. This scheme also allows us to give the genetic characteristics of different strata of social environment in the life of the child.

The scientific study of social backgrounds of school children was entirely unknown in the prerevolutionary times in Russia, and even now it is still in the stage of experimentation. The number of mass surveys, scientifically planned, is not large. Russian pedagogical thought is faced now with the need of improving methods of teaching in the schools in connection with the tremendous increase of the number of schools and pupils under the régime of general compulsory education. This need has dominated all scientific research in education in the last years.

LEISURE-TIME SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS IN A SUBURBAN COMMUNITY

JOHN F. FOX

What is the status of the school child's leisure time in the small-town suburban community? Leisure time, for the purpose of this study, is defined as that waking time spent outside of the following necessary activities: sleeping, eating, personal care, home duties, homework, time in school, paid employment, and transportation to work and school. Leisure interests are considered to be those expressions of preferences and activities in which the child indulges in his leisure time-activities, "just because he wants to."

Sociologists say the behavior of the child is affected by many situations—the family, school, playground, movies, gangs, and scouts. This means that there are educational processes outside the formal program of the public school. If this is true, a study of the child within this congeries of situations is essential. Such a study should help to bring a visualization of educational problems in terms of the needs and activities of the whole community.

Problem. The problem as set forth in this study is to discover how the suburban children of Hatterstown¹ Borough spend their leisure time in their usual school, play, and work environment; what the influences playing upon them are; whether there are significant differences caused by the biological facts of sex and age; and whether the sociological facts of nationality, socio-economic status (as indicated by parent's occupation and place of residence), home duties, grade in school, and religion play a part in the child's choice of leisure activities. A description of the borough follows:

The Borough of Hatterstown is a decentralized residential suburb of 10,000 persons; one of the hundreds of smaller towns and cities in the area dominated by the metropolises of Warsaw and Munich, which, are respectively, eight and twenty miles away. Because of its proximity to these cities and because of excellent railroad connections, the borough underwent a complete transformation when the commuters began to

¹The names of localities are disguised.

look for suitable home sites within daily traveling distance of the cities.

As late as 1900, the center of Hatterstown was devoted almost entirely to the manufacturing of hats, and the residents and their homes were typical of a mill town. Now the factories are gone and the chief business of the borough is largely that of providing comfortable suburban homes for the successful Warsaw and Munich professional and business men who have become well established. It is a realm of consumption rather than production, of play and leisure in contrast with the work and business of Warsaw and Munich.

Following the big increase of population which came after the World War, the borough has become differentiated into natural areas filled with social cliques, people who consider themselves on different social planes. The Mountain Grove people established their private social club, became a homogeneous community of "social registerites," and the inhabitants received much social prestige through residence there. The old Mountain Grove pioneers have become alarmed at the repeated invasion of new real-estate developments and have set up social barriers, which the newcomers have found impossible to penetrate.

The transformation from the old village to the modern suburb might easily have been the work of a magician, for there are now present within the borough's limits bits of practically all of the social levels of Warsaw and Munich. The range extends from a "Little Italy" in old Hatterstown to the homes of the "400" in Mountain Grove. Falling between the two extremes are representatives of the intervening classes usually found in only the largest of cities.

Disregarding social barriers, residents usually think of the borough as having three major residential divisions, approaching homogeneity, and, for the purpose of simplifying the study all of the old and recent developments were lumped into three groups, described as follows:

Mountain Grove: This is the "ritzy" section of the borough and is peopled largely by wealthy Warsaw and Munich business men, politicians, public officials, lawyers, and scientific research men whose names are familiar in metropolitan circles. Mountain Grove has the distinction of being rated as one of the ultrafashionable suburbs of Warsaw and Munich.

Linden Bluff: Here are the homes of Warsaw and Munich minor executives, and research and clerical workers whose salaries range from \$4,000 to \$10,000.

Old Hatterstown: Since this was the first residential section in the borough, one finds the descendants of the old settlers living there. Other groups making their homes in this area because of the cheaper land values and rentals are the municipal employees, lower salaried workers, local merchants, the Italians, and a few commuters.

There are few customs that are common at once to Mountain Grove, Linden Bluff, and Hatterstown, and one will perhaps seek a long time before he finds any common views which hold the population of the various sections of the borough together in any common purpose. Consequently, in the study of the leisure interests of the children, they were divided into three groups, according to the place of residence of their parents.

Method. The method used to obtain information about leisure-time interests and activities as they are reflected in everyday experiences was a careful adaptation of the diary form, closely modeled after that used by Janet Fowler Nelson in the recent Y. W. C. A. leisure-time study.² The following paragraphs briefly describe the schedules used:

1. Basic background data serving to define the groups under consideration and to facilitate control of important factors; *i.e.*, age, grade, sex, nationality, religion, economic status of parents, and place of residence within the borough (the latter implying social strata).

2. For collecting data as to time spent in each activity a time-diary record in half-hour units was filled in by the selected children for three full days—school day (Friday), Saturday, and Sunday. All activities were recorded in the diary form from the time of getting up in the morning until going to bed at night. Regarding the value of the diary, Miss Nelson says, "Although it is admittedly a meager sample of any one individual's time, nevertheless, in terms of the group, it is probably a more true picture of the division of a day into school, work, and play hours and how those hours are actually spent than innumerable questionnaires would or could ever elicit."³

Sampling. Schedule questionnaires were distributed to 530 children, the actual number of students in the selected grades. Three hundred and seventy-two, or 70.2 per cent of the total population of these grades, were completed. To achieve a representative sample of the school children that would have all the significant characteristics of the total township school population, in their relative proportions, selection was made at regular intervals.

A preliminary study showed that children below the sixth grade were not capable of doing a good job on the diaries, consequently all the school children of the borough in the sixth, eighth, tenth, and twelfth grades were selected to fill in the diary forms. These groups represented all of the sixth grades in the borough's four public elementary schools and its three private schools; the eighth-grade selection included the three private schools and the middle group in Hatterstown Junior High School, which contains the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades. All of the high-school students in the borough attend Hatterstown Public High School, and schedules were distributed to all of the students

²This particular technique is known for its reliability in giving relatively accurate information on spare-time activities and is in contrast with several less exact techniques.

³Janet Fowler Nelson, Summary of Report on Leisure Time Study, Y. W. C. A., New York City, 1933, p. 4.

in the tenth and twelfth grades.

Basic groups. In setting up this analysis of leisure-activity material, it was necessary first to determine the basic groups involved for purposes of description and comparison.

Since the primary considerations were the leisure-time influences playing upon the boys and girls of the township's schools, the groups were automatically divided into sex and grade divisions for the junior and senior high school. For the sixth-grade groups, it was possible to further classify them in three additional groups according to the place of residence of their parents. The leisure-time interests of the children as reflected by the section of the borough in which they live furnish the most interesting part of the study. The leisure interests were studied in terms of their incidence in the three natural areas, Mountain Grove, Linden Bluff, and Old Hatterstown, into which the borough was divided as approaching homogeneity regarding the socio-economic status of the parents, in terms of the various school grades, and in boys' groups versus girl groups. This gives a total of twelve different groups which act as controls upon each other.

Only a few suggestive results of this study of leisure-time backgrounds can be presented here. The completed study will be available eventually.

Most popular sports. In analyzing results, it is reasonable to assume that the sports taught by the school and by the municipal playground should head the list. The startling discovery, however, is made that fourteen of the first twenty sports in popularity are not taught by the school. Most of the school-taught sports used in interscholastic contests, such as basketball, football, track, baseball, and soccer, are recognized as having no carry-over value to later life whatever. In surveying the results, it is evident that the above sports should not constitute the major athletic activities of the school program, but activities such as tennis, golf, swimming, handball, volleyball, horseshoes, bowling, and skating should be encouraged because the pupils can engage in them after leaving school.

Only six of the first twenty in popularity are team games. Baseball, basketball, football, soccer, field hockey, and volleyball rank 1, 3, 5, 6, 9, and 19, respectively. The other fourteen are individual activities with swimming and tennis ranking second and fourth among the entire group.

Difficulties were met in properly classifying the activities listed on the diaries, for it seemed as though these children did everything. After tabulating several completed diaries, it was found that the groups defined tended to do certain things at certain times, e.g., sleeping, eating, going to school, walking home, playing the radio, etc.; consequently, the following headings were used to classify the activities:

Necessary Activities

Sleeping	Transportation to school and work
Personal service	Time spent in school
Eating	Homework
Home duties	Work outside of home

Leisure Activities

Magazines and books	Nothing—loafing
Dancing	Bicycle riding
Radio	Roller skating
Leisure transportation	Horseback riding
Singing and playing instruments	Stayed after school
Newspapers	Hobbies
Resting	Spontaneous outdoor play ⁴
Club and scout meetings	Spontaneous indoor play ⁴
Attending athletic contests	Indoor quiet organized play ⁴
Visiting and entertaining	Highly organized outdoor play ⁴
Automobile riding	Indoor active organized play ⁴
Hiking	Talked with family
Walking—strolling	Letter writing
Movies	Fashion show
Religious activities	

An analysis of the 372 diaries showing the manner in which the 24 hours of the day are distributed; the actual amount of time devoted to the various necessary activities; and the amount of time devoted to the various necessary

⁴For the purpose of classifying all physical-recreation activities, the investigator devised five divisions, as follows:

DEFINITIONS

1. *Spontaneous outdoor play.* Outdoor play having no rules; imaginative play, such as playing in the yard, down by the brook
2. *Spontaneous indoor play.* Indoor play having no rules; imaginative play, as playing with dolls, dressing up
3. *Indoor active organized play.* Indoor games requiring physical activity and formal equipment, as ping pong, bowling, and basketball
4. *Indoor quiet organized play.* Indoor games with set rules and equipment, as checkers, parcheesi, bagatelle, and card games
5. *Highly organized outdoor play.* Outdoor active team games with standardized rules and equipment, as football and baseball

activities; and the amount of time left for leisure have been selected as the initial approach to the problem.

The following table presents an analysis of a school day (Friday), work day (Saturday), and Sunday in the above terms for the entire group.

An Analysis of an Average Twenty-Four Hour School Day, Saturday, and Sunday for the Total Group

Activity 1	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
	Hours Minutes	Hours Minutes	Hours Minutes
2		3	4
Sleeping	9.00	10.10	10.21
Time in school	5.26	....	....
Eating	1.45	1.39	1.47
Personal service	1.06	1.20	.59
Transportation to school and work .....	.46	.02	.01
Homework .....	.24	.20	.41
Home duties .....	.31	1.35	.41
Work outside home .....	.12	.32	.16
No record .....	.07	.12	.09
Leisure	4.43	8.13	9.05

When a comparison is made of the control groups, the following conclusions are reached:

1. Sleep: a) Children sleep less as they get older.

b) Boys and girls sleep about the same amount.

2. Eating: There is no difference in the amount of time spent in eating except on Sundays when the Old Hatterstown children averaged 20 to 25 minutes longer than Mountain Grove and Linden Bluff children. Sunday dinner is the big meal of the week for the Italians, who form 50 per cent of the population of Old Hatterstown, and much time is spent by the family in eating it. On Sunday, there seems to be a tendency for the children, as they get older, to spend more time eating.

3. Personal service:

a) There is noted a consistent tendency, as the socio-economic status of the parents rises, for the children to spend more time on such activities as bathing, care of the nails, brushing the teeth, and combing the hair. For example, the children of Old Hatterstown spend less time than the children from Linden Bluff, and the latter, in turn, spend less than the children from Mountain Grove.

b) The older the child and the more advanced in school, the more time is spent in personal care.

c) Saturday must be bath day, for more time is spent on personal care than on Friday or Sunday.

d) Girls spend slightly more time on this activity than boys.

4. Home duties:

a) As one would expect, the Old Hatterstown children have more home responsibility and do more work around the home than do their wealthier cousins in Linden Bluff and Mountain Grove.

- b) As children get older, they help more in the care of the home.
- c) Girls do from two to three times as much work around the house as the boys.
- 5. Homework: The older the student and the further advanced in school, the more time is spent in studying at home.
- 6. Work outside of home:
 - a) The children who work for wages are pretty well concentrated in the Old Hatterstown section, where they are forced by economic necessity to seek outside employment.
 - b) Most of the paid work was done by boys, who served as golf caddies.
- 7. Time reserved for leisure:
 - a) More time spent in home duties and work outside of home causes the children of poor parents to have from ten to thirty per cent less leisure time than the children of Linden Bluff and Mountain Grove.
 - b) Boys have more leisure time than girls due to the latter spending more time on personal service and home duties.

In considering the manner in which the children spent their leisure time in terms of per cent of each group participating on the combined three days, the following conclusions are reached:

Rank Order and Comparison of the Most Frequent Leisure-Time Activities Between the Boys and Girls' Groups in Terms of Per Cent Reporting Them on Saturday

Activity 1	Boys 2	Girls 3	Actual Difference 4	P. E. Difference 5	Critical Ratio 6
Leisure transportation.....	60.0	71.1	11.1	...	...
Magazines and books.....	38.3	44.2	5.9	3.6	1.64
Radio.....	37.8	40.4	2.6	3.6	.72
Visiting and entertaining.....	23.9	43.6	19.7	3.4	5.79
Movies.....	33.8	29.5	4.3	3.4	1.26
Newspapers.....	30.6	30.8	.2	3.4	.058
Spontaneous outdoor play.....	33.9	23.1	10.8	1.9	3.27
Indoor quiet organized play.....	18.3	20.5	2.2	2.9	.76
Walking—strolling.....	12.8	17.3	4.5	2.7	1.67
Singing and playing instruments..	7.2	21.2	14.0	2.5	5.60
Nothing—loafing.....	13.3	12.8	.5	2.5	.2
Automobile riding.....	11.1	11.5	.4	2.3	.17
Hobbies.....	11.7	9.0	2.7	2.2	1.23
Highly organized outdoor play...	16.1	1.3	14.8	2.7	5.48
Spontaneous indoor play.....	4.4	9.6	5.2	3.3	2.74
Dancing.....	4.4	8.3	3.9	...	...
Bicycle riding.....	7.2	5.1	2.1	1.9	1.11
Indoor active organized games...	8.9	.6	8.3	1.5	5.53
Talked with family.....	2.8	5.1	2.3	1.5	1.53
Club and scout meeting.....	1.7	4.5	2.8	1.3	2.15
Resting.....	4.4	1.3	3.1	1.3	2.38
Religious activities.....	.6	1.9	1.3	.8	1.63

1. *Reading.* Next to physical play, which was given five subdivisions, the reading of magazines, books, and newspapers was the most important of all activities for school children. Because of the very different nature of type of reading, it was further classified into two divisions, one for the reading of magazines and books and the other for newspapers.

a) *Magazines and books.* Girls read more of this type of literature than do boys. There is a slight increase in interest as the grade advances. One would probably be justified from the community sixth-

grade results in saying that, as socio-economic levels of the parents rise, there is a tendency for their sixth-grade children to read more magazines and books.

b) *Newspapers.* There is a slight average difference in favor of the boys over the girls in the reading of newspapers. Although the tendency is not consistent on all days, children of wealthier parents tend to read more newspapers. This is not true on Sunday, which is probably due to many of the Old Hatterstown parents taking a Sunday paper while they don't take a daily.

2. *Radio.* From the number who reported listening to the radio, its importance is revealed as a medium of passing time for the children of people with small incomes. On a school day, more people listened to the radio than participated in any single activity, except combined reading and physical play in its various forms. It was second only to the reading of magazines and books on Saturday, while on Sunday it was led by newspaper reading and religious activities. There seems to be no significant difference between the age, sex, or economic status groups in the per cent participating.

3. *Movies.* According to the sample, the boys attend slightly more than do the girls. Children from the more exclusive areas go to the movies more on week days, but the order is reversed on Sunday.

4. *Spontaneous outdoor play.* The results are largely in favor of the boys as against the girls. Among the community groups the odds are not so overwhelming, but one is probably justified in saying that children from poorer homes are more prone to play outdoors in this manner than their wealthier cousins.

5. *Spontaneous indoor play.* Girls are more likely than boys, according to the results, to participate in this type of play indoors. The tendencies are not consistent among the community groups.

6. *Highly organized outdoor play.* The differences are probably large enough to justify one in saying that, given any two normal groups of boys and girls, the former will always participate more than the latter in this type of play. As the community gets wealthier, there is a tendency for their sixth-grade children to play fewer highly organized games. The three days produced the same result. Children from Old Hatterstown always played more, with Linden Bluff next, and Mountain Grove last.

7. *Indoor quiet organized play.* There is a slight tendency for the girls always to lead the boys in percentage engaging in this type of play. Community comparisons show that children on the average from better class homes participate more in games of this type.

8. *Indoor active organized play.* The boys more than the girls seem to prefer active games indoors. The community differences are not significant.

9. *Strolling—walking.* As a recreation activity, walking seems to appeal to girls more than boys. An analysis by community reveals no significant tendencies.

10. *Club and scout meetings.* Although the results are not conclusive, it seems probable from the data at hand that the girls more than boys are prone to attend such affairs.

11. *Visiting and entertaining.* The girls predominate by a big margin

over the boys in such social activities within the home. The tendency among communities seems to be for the children of the better class homes to do more visiting and entertaining.

12. *Automobile riding.* The difference between the boys and girls is not significant. As one would naturally expect, the children coming from wealthier homes are able to ride more in automobiles.

13. *Hobbies.* The boys have more hobbies than girls. There seems to be a tendency for the children of Linden Bluff to have more hobbies than Mountain Grove and Old Hatterstown children. This is probably due to so many engineer fathers who, in pursuing their own hobbies around the home, make it easy for the children to follow them.

14. *Dancing.* This form of recreation prevails much more among sixth graders in homes of well-to-do families.

In considering the *average amount of time spent* by group averages in the more popular twenty-nine leisure activities, these activities were classified into eleven crude major divisions:

Outdoor Recreation				Radio			
Spontaneous outdoor play				Reading			
Highly organized outdoor play				Magazines and books			
Hiking				Newspapers			
Walking				Club and scout meetings			
Bicycling				Trips			
Roller skating				Leisure transportation			
Horseback riding				Automobile riding			
Indoor Recreation				Visiting or entertaining			
Spontaneous indoor play				Talked with family			
Indoor active organized play				Movies			
Indoor quiet organized play				Music			
Letter writing				Singing or playing an instrument			
Stayed after school				Religious activities			
Fashion show				Lounging			
Dancing				Resting			
Attending athletic contests				Loafing			
Hobbies							

A sample table for the boys' and girls' groups on Friday is given below.

Leisure Activities	Boys			Girls			Total		
	Average Time	Per Cent of Day	Per Cent of Leisure	Average Time	Per Cent of Day	Per Cent of Leisure	Average Time	Per Cent of Day	Per Cent of Leisure
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Radio.....	54.9	3.8	18.5	45.9	3.2	16.9	50.7	3.5	17.8
Outdoor recreation	49.9	3.5	17.1	35.4	2.5	13.2	42.4	2.9	14.7
Music.....	43.5	3.0	14.6	33.6	2.3	12.2	39.0	2.7	13.7
Reading.....	38.4	2.7	13.2	48.3	3.4	18.0	42.9	3.0	15.2
Indoor recreation..	32.1	2.2	10.7	29.4	2.0	10.5	30.9	2.1	10.7
Trips.....	26.4	1.8	8.8	25.2	1.8	9.5	24.6	1.7	8.6
Club-scout meeting	20.7	1.4	6.8	1.2	.08	.4	11.7	.8	4.1
Visited or entertained.....	19.2	1.3	6.3	30.6	2.1	11.1	24.3	1.7	8.6
Movies.....	4.8	.3	1.5	12.9	.9	4.8	8.7	.6	3.1
Lounging.....	3.6	.3	1.5	3.3	.2	1.1	3.6	.3	1.5
Religious activity..	2.7	.2	1.0	6.6	.5	2.6	4.5	.3	1.5
Total leisure....	4:55.2	20.5	100.	4:32.4	18.9	100.	4:43.3	19.7	100.

It is not possible to discuss all of the activities; consequently, the partial treatment of only one major classification, Outdoor Recreation, will be presented here.

Outdoor recreation. It is interesting to find that of the number participating in outdoor recreation on Friday, the sixth-grade community groups spent a much larger average amount of time than did the upper grades. It was the most important activity for the younger children in calling for sustained attention, but it was outranked by both reading and radio in the upper grades. The greatest difference was shown between Linden Bluff sixth graders and the high-school seniors, the former spending an average of 1 hour and 39 minutes, or 33.5 per cent of their total leisure, while the senior average was only five minutes, or 2.1 per cent of their leisure in outdoor recreation on Friday.

The boys averaged 49.9 minutes outdoors while the girls averaged only 35.4 minutes.

On Saturday, the trend was in the same direction between the younger and older children. The total leisure increased approximately four hours for all groups, and much of this was spent in outdoor recreation. The largest difference was between the Mountain Grove sixth graders, who spent 3 hours and 2 minutes in this manner or 34.6 per cent of their total leisure and the high-school seniors who played outdoors an average of only 44.4 minutes or 8.9 per cent of their leisure.

One would expect the number of boys playing outdoors to average more time per individual than the girls, and they did. The time for boys was 2 hours 46.5 minutes as against 56.3 minutes for girls.

The community sixth-grade groups spent approximately the same average amount of time on Sunday playing outdoors. As the grade rose the individuals averaged less time; e.g., Linden Bluff sixth grade spent 2 hours and 45 minutes, and the seniors 32.4 minutes.

The boys averaged 1 hour 44.7 minutes while the girls averaged only 1 hour 6.5 minutes.

Ecological method. A method used to advantage in the study is that which has been designated by sociologists as *ecological*; a study of society in its distributive aspects.

A base map was prepared for the Borough of Hatterstown showing the geographic distribution of various types of social facts in relation to their backgrounds and to each other. Various types of data were spotted on the maps showing graphic correlations between social facts. In the study of Hatterstown, the preparation of the base map proved invaluable both in delimiting and describing the area served by the public-recreation facilities and in suggesting explanations arising in the course of the investigation.

Case-study method. The study of the leisure-time social backgrounds of the children of Hatterstown gains greatly

in significance because eventually it will be thrown against the larger background of a complete case study of the total community. This community study has employed sociological methods analagous to those exemplified in the work of Lynds,⁵ Blumenthal,⁶ Shaw and McKay,⁷ Thrasher,⁸ and Glick.⁹ An understanding of the significance of leisure-time backgrounds also implies a study of their relationships to the larger cultural complexes involved in the metropolitan area, the region, the section (of the country), and in the nation as a whole.

The case-study method is also indispensable in this investigation to illuminate the statistical trends suggested above and to indicate their significance in relation to the educational problems of individual children. To this end, case studies of various types of children are being prepared to fill out the total picture.

The implications for education of this type of study, although space is lacking here for their discussions or even enumeration, are far-reaching and suggest themselves in wide variety to students of educational and recreational problems.

⁵Robert S. Lynd, *Middletown* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929), x+550 pp.
⁶Albert Blumenthal, *Small Town Stuff* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1932), xvi+416 pp.

⁷*Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency* (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1931), 401 pp.

⁸*Winnetka: A Focus of Urban Pathology* (to be published).

⁹*Winnetka* (to be published).

THE MOTION PICTURE AS INFORMAL EDUCATION

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Among the major activities and social forces which impinge upon the life of the school child, there are few which have, even upon superficial examination, the opportunity for influence which the commercial cinema possesses. The average time spent by the city child in attending the movie would alone seem to suggest the cinema's potential influence. In the effort of Dale¹ to establish an approximation of the national cinema attendance by children and young people, he reached the conclusion that in the United States even young children from five to eight years of age now attend on the average of twenty-two times a year, and that the attendance rate of children and young people from eight to nineteen years of age makes it possible to say that a movie a week is the cinema diet for the younger members of our American society.

In the research upon motion pictures and boy life, which is at this time being completed at New York University under the directorship of Professor Thrasher, it was found that in an interstitial area in Manhattan the approximate average estimated attendance for boys from twelve to sixteen years of age was 83.4 visits a year, or 1.6 visits per week. If even the time per visit spent by the child in the motion-picture theater is restricted to two hours, it would seem that the boys in this interstitial area spend in theaters at least 166.8 hours a year. Since most children are known to remain frequently for a second showing of the photoplay it is a conservative estimate that they spend annually at least a fifth as much time at the cinema as in attending school. Nor is extensive movie attendance restricted to the

¹Edgar Dale, *Children's Attendance at Motion Pictures* (to be published by The Macmillan Company this year).

city children of interstitial areas. Although considerable statistical evidence supports the hypothesis that the highest rate of child attendance is to be found in areas of maximum congestion and poverty, it would be incorrect to assume that cinema attendance is not now a well-nigh universal practice of all classes of children and young people in our American cities.

At the same time, the opportunity to go to the movies is regarded almost universally by both children and parents as the child's natural right. Frequently, children with the tacit support of many adults have attempted to justify their truancy, their insubordination towards strict parents, and even their petty stealing by claiming that these were the only ways by which they could "see the show." For adolescents, "going to the movies" is not only a means for self-instruction in love making, dress, and etiquette but also is a step in courtship almost universally accepted.

For adults as well the motion picture is increasingly becoming an accepted part of their round of life; cinema attendance may have very different meanings for various individuals, yet for most the screen is in some way an integral part of their lives. Inescapable, then, is the conclusion that the cinema is not only an established institution in American communities but that "going to the movies" is rapidly becoming an American folkway as well.

The great frequency of cinema attendance by children and young people is not without its important educational effect. The motion-picture industry is clearly of that group of quasi-educational enterprises whose business by the very nature of things cannot be regarded solely from the point of view of private profit. Though organized commercially to "sell" entertainment, the motion-picture industry dispenses a great deal of informal education—general information, patterns, and not a little in the way of standards and personal ideals. That such is true cannot now be disputed. The recently published works of Blumer, Blumer and Hauser, Dale, Holaday and Stoddard, Peters, Peterson and Thurstone, to mention but a partial list of the

contributions to the Payne Fund Studies,² afford ample evidence that when the child or youth goes to the movies he acquires from the experience much more than entertainment. General information concerning realms of life of which the individual does not have other knowledge, specific information and suggestions concerning fields of immediate personal interest, techniques of crime, methods of avoiding detection, and of escape from the law, as well as countless techniques for gaining special favors and for interesting the opposite sex in oneself are among the educational contributions of entertainment films. To be included, also, are the schemes of life, the aesthetic standards, and the personal ideals and values which are presented upon the screen and which under special circumstances, chiefly a certain few characteristic social situations, become significantly a part of the life patterns of these young people.

It should be carefully noted, however, that what is adopted from the films by children and young people is by no means uniform as to extent or content. What is taken over depends on a variety of conditioning factors, important among which are the character, temperament, and personality of the child and the nature of his varied social backgrounds represented in racial and nationality heritages, economic and occupational levels, religious experiences, and community traditions.

The educational importance of the motion picture for childhood and youth can be understood in part by reference to certain characteristics of childhood and of the cinema art. Foremost, perhaps, though so obvious that it has eluded attention, is the fact that the child and youth is at the most receptive age, is able more effectively than at any other time to assimilate in whole cloth what is presented upon the screen. He does not yet possess fully the capacity for "adult discount," he does not yet have the background by which to discredit sufficiently some motion-picture representations of life. While research findings show that what

²From the Motion Pictures and Youth Series, The Macmillan Company.

the child or youth perceives, remembers, and later utilizes from his photoplays is not at all what most adults would at first surmise, the fact remains that the young person, because of his immaturity, is very often more receptive to screen stimuli than are adults.

A second element making for the educational force of the commercial cinema is the fact that it can now benefit from its many years of experience in the production and exhibiting of films especially attractive to the immature mind and to the child. Responding constantly to reports from the box office, the motion-picture industry has been able to discover a wide variety in types of films which are financially profitable to produce and which attract quite varied audiences. Though very probably without intent and without any special pedagogical preconceptions, the motion-picture industry has actually followed the practice of producing photoplays for those of widely different cultural heritages and of varying stages of intellectual maturity. For the small children, the cinema today supplies the animated cartoon, the slapstick comedy, the animal picture, and is, in fact, beginning to build up an independent cinematic nursery lore. For those a little older, it offers the standardized cowboy or "western" film and the "episode" picture or serial, in which hero and heroine pass melodramatically through a long series of perilous and highly improbable adventures. Later the "mystery" thriller and the photoplays depicting spectacular scenes of warfare and aviation may have an especial appeal, often to be followed in turn by the "sports" pictures and by the murder and gangster films. With the growth of new interests during adolescence, the photoplay depicting love and romance and the sophisticated society picture take on meaning. These are sometimes followed by an interest in the historical drama, the travelogue, and even by an interest in the photoplay presenting a psychological or philosophical problem. For very nearly all mental ages, whatever may be the individual's chronological age, the cinema is prepared to offer attractive, interesting films. Further, in contrast to the typical public-

school system, another educational agency of major importance, the cinema's influence is not restricted in the main to children and youth who are within the ages of compulsory school laws. Through its wide range of offerings, even though moralists may doubt the influence upon character of certain photoplays, the cinema provides a diet which in part is definitely attuned to the interest and mental growth of the child, and so facilitates its own educational contribution.

The cinema, in the third place, is able through its mechanical and technical facilities to present in dynamic, living form scenes which readily appear to the child as replicas of life itself, based upon actual life situations. Made attractive and interest compelling by every device of plot, action, scenery, and acting, the photoplay possesses unique pedagogical advantages. It can command attention through the fact that it is "telling a story," an instructional advantage recognized even in early use of folklore and parables. By the portrayal upon the screen of life situations, which seem only more gripping than those the child himself usually experiences, the photoplay can readily confer upon its subject matter a sense of validity and definiteness not so easily obtained, perhaps, by any other method of communication or instruction. Further, the unified life situations presented in the photoplay afford a greater facility for the child of ordinary antecedents to associate himself more intimately with the life situations and characters portrayed upon the screen than is possible through a more formal agency or institution.

Herein is to be found an important aspect of the educational rôle of the cinema. The cinema is almost unique among the agencies in a community in that it presents what are interpreted as unified segments of life. Consider by contrast the conventional school. Sanctioned in public opinion and with the force of the truant officer behind it, the traditional public school has been able to continue even though, from the point of view and experience of the typical school child, it may often have seemed a disjunctive and a

repressive agent. Presenting logical, unified compartments of knowledge, which, however, may not represent at all the way in which this same information might come to have meaning for the child, the public school has often been able to continue and to gain strength because it was not forced to look to its own students for support. The cinema, however, in order to survive commercially has been forced to adapt itself constantly to the immediate interests of patrons. In its programs and its advertising the cinema has found it necessary to discover the basic human motives and wishes and to produce photoplays and advertising appeals by constant reference to these dynamics. As a result, children and adults as well have, by projecting themselves into the activities and interests of the screen characters, inadvertently contacted a psychological element by which the information and general knowledge incidental to the plot could readily be seen to have meaning and could, therefore, be easily retained. In contrast to the traditional school, where motivation in learning arises extraneously, primarily through the teacher's special efforts and skill, the cinema provides for many children a means, vicariously at least, by which learning may really be a natural result of interest and activity.

A fourth factor in the educational rôle of the commercial cinema can be seen in the circumstances under which the child or youth attends. At the motion-picture theater attendance is voluntary; the individual need see only those photoplays which seem to him to be interesting and valuable. Since it is usually from the youthful patron's own funds that he is spending, of which in most cases he does not feel he has too much, there is very naturally an effort to secure the most for his money in the satisfaction of immediate interests. These circumstances in turn, no doubt, contribute to the individual's receptivity at the cinema; and, in contrast with the traditional public-school system in which there is a minimum of opportunity for individualization in instruction, it is significant to note the opportunity for individual initiative and choice in self-education afforded

at the cinema. Important, also, is the relative freedom from restraint in the theater, and its physical setting contributing to maximum attention. The child, seated in a comfortable chair, and so placed that the only point of bright illumination, the animated fascinating screen, is immediately before him, is in a position to attain a high degree of concentration and learning.

Finally, the prestige of the movie stars in the child's own play world and in the urban community itself, even as much as the prestige in which they are held when seen upon the screen, contributes also to the educational influence of the cinema. On every hand the city child meets this screen world. Even though he may not attend the cinema the urban youth is constantly exposed to ideas, patterns, and suggestions which have their origin in Hollywood. If the child plays with others his games are most certainly to include "cowboys and Indians," "cops and robbers"; and, very probably, he will be expected to make the American Indian's smoke signals, as was shown in the previous week's edition of a movie serial, or to throw a lasso in the manner seen in a recent "western." The nicknames of his playmates very often include the names of movie stars or of the characters which they have portrayed. The city child is exposed to garish billboards, lobby displays, and handbills telling of forthcoming attractions in the local theaters. For a penny he may weigh himself, and on the reverse side of the card upon which his weight is printed, he may find a photograph of a movie star; from an adjoining slot machine he may obtain chewing gum endorsed by a Hollywood child star. Even his favored candy or soft drink may have endorsement by a movie star. For a few cents he can buy a fascinating photograph of an actress, or, for a penny, may secure a paper stencil by which he can tattoo upon his person a picture of his favorite actress.

Returning home the city youth finds in the daily newspaper at least a page devoted to advertisements and news items concerning theater offerings and the doings of the

stars. Turning on the radio he may enjoy a "Half Hour in Hollywood" or may listen to any one of over two hundred popular songs which have been introduced through recent musical productions. The youth, like his sister who can now equip herself from head to toe in clothing especially endorsed by actresses or modeled after clothes worn in recent photoplays, may set out upon a similar mission, buying his hats, shirts, ties, sweaters, suits, and overcoat from among those endorsed by movie actors or fashioned according to a special design popularized by them.

In a variety of ways, through the screen, through the play world of childhood, and through countless commercial devices Hollywood has in one way or another become intimately associated with some of the most vital interests and activities of childhood and youth. Tom Mix, Hoot Gibson, Harold Lloyd, James Cagney, Edward G. Robinson, and George Raft, to mention but a few from the list of favorites furnished by the boys and young men studied in the New York University research, have far greater prestige and, in the activities and thought of these young people, in many cases mean far more than do all the local political, educational, and social leaders whose activities have direct bearing upon their lives.

The full significance of the cinema, however, cannot be seen except by reference to the specific social backgrounds of each individual. Only as it is possible to see the motion picture's impressions in terms of his own cultural heritages, his own dominant interests and values, and his own *axeological world* can we begin to see adequately what any photoplay may mean for a spectator. In fact, much confusion in the past over the problem of the cinema's influence upon children has arisen because of the failure to see the motion picture in terms of the total social background of the individual. By reference to an interstitial community in New York City in which a great deal was known of boy life through the Boys' Club Study of New York University, the research on motion-picture influence now being completed has been able to see the cinema in this community

in terms of its social rôle. From the broader perspective upon each case which this approach makes possible, it appears that there are certain special social situations in which the cinema can be seen to have a much greater influence than in others.

Among these special situations, few stand out as of such importance as the period of adolescence, during which the youth's sensitiveness, self-consciousness, and social uncertainty facilitate his receptivity to the cinema. For such young people the motion picture's portrayal of attractive adults of both sexes provides a ready basis for the acquisition of personality patterns, standards of dress and conduct, and even philosophies and schemes of life. In the following stenographically recorded interview, which is but one illustration of a great amount of case material which could be offered if space permitted, an adolescent youth in New York City indicates the way in which the screen and its portrayals have become a part of himself:

Q. These notions of going after women, where did you get them?

A. Yes, that has been a specialty of mine.

Q. Yes, I know, but where?

A. A lot from the movies and a lot from experience.

Q. What sort of thing from the movies?

A. Never chase after women; let them chase you, show that you are intelligent and leave them. Personality, be dynamic, never humble yourself before them. Of course, I've done that too.

Q. Is that where human nature slips in?

A. Yes, you can't pass that up, you have to humble yourself sometimes.

Q. Certain pictures (you say) give you those ideas?

A. A lot of pictures. George Raft is a typical example. Warren William is a good example, John Barrymore is a perfect example; you never see them chasing them (the women). I have taken the ideas of these big stars. I have never been interested in these younger stars. They are not mature, they are silly. Ronald Colman in *Cynara*; I have seen a great deal of them. I see the way he does not give the girl a tumble. He does not give them a tumble, they go after him. Clark Gable has given me an inspiration.

Q. How?

A. I like his manner of speaking lines, you know that mannishness. "How do you do?" Just like that, sweep them off their feet. . . .

Q. This idea of being suave about it all, where did you get that idea?

A. I have always wanted to be that way.

Q. Do you remember the first time?

A. John Barrymore a long time ago gave me that idea, he has been in the movies quite a while.

Q. What was the name of the picture?

A. I think it was *Don Juan*. Ever since then I wanted to be the perfect-lover type. I got the dark eyes. Usually lovers have dark eyes. Husbands have blue eyes, I have been compared to a few. One girl thought I looked like George O'Brien. Another thought I looked like Fredric March. I went to a dance once and one cute little girl kept calling me Gary Cooper. . . .

Another social situation in which the cinema would seem to have an exceedingly great influence is that in which the American-born child of immigrant parents feels a conflict within himself between the old-world patterns inculcated and sponsored by his parents and the standards to which he is exposed in his contacts at school, on the job, and on the playgrounds, and which he often thinks of as "American." Especially where the other agencies and institutions in a young person's life do not adapt themselves adequately to his psychological and cultural situation, the cinema may very well be, and, in fact, often is, the refuge to which the individual goes to discover that which he considers is really "American." His preference as to actors and photoplays, as well as his adoption of standards and patterns of behavior which he sees on the screen, reveal subtly but effectively the way in which he identifies himself with the actors and characters seen upon the screen.

In an interstitial community with relatively high delinquency rates, and in which the child and youth on the street are exposed to contradictory patterns of life, it is clear also that a photoplay which by some chance "strikes fire" with a certain individual may be, for the time, a paramount influence in his life. Thus, a few outstanding gangster characters in the photoplays of recent years have been found to have exerted a very great influence over certain boys and young men. In a few instances, the entire personality of certain individuals has seemed to change as a result of seeing certain gangster pictures. But in these cases it is really a combination of many factors which contributes to their exceptional receptivity to the screen. It should be noted that it is the presence in certain photoplays of a gripping

portrayal of specific human interests, activities, or values closely associated with the major dynamics in the subject's own life and his own community backgrounds which make it possible for them to "strike fire." Thus, photoplays involving crime and gangs may be expected to have a greater appeal to certain boys in a high delinquency area than to others in the same area or to boys residing on Park Avenue or Riverside Drive. Because they do relate themselves so intimately to the personal problems of such individuals, living in a social milieu affording an opportunity for a maximum range of choice in conduct, and because they possess the special validity and prestige accredited to the screen, the photoplays under these circumstances, and under these circumstances only, may become a definite and immediate factor in conduct.

In a social situation of the above type the cinema may exert its influence upon receptive individuals in many ways. It may contribute not only a knowledge of techniques of crime, extortion, and seduction, but it may furnish suggestions which eventuate in conduct. In the same way, a delinquent may on occasion find in certain photoplays schemes of life and values by which he may formulate more definitely his own philosophy of life and his own life pattern. These conclusions are based upon extensive researches.³

The relationship of the commercial cinema to the school and to educational policies, in the light of the new data which are now available, has yet to be determined. With the educational contribution of the commercial motion picture not yet recognized in the thought of most educators, it would be impossible to expect that school programs and the practices of teachers would yet have been modified in relationship to the cinema. For the most part, the incipient attitude of school and teacher has probably been one of antagonism. Actually, the cinema is here to stay and it is well that the school adopt a more enlightened attitude towards it. It is interesting that in a high school

³These data will be available in a book by Paul G. Cressey and Frederic M. Thrasher, *Boys, Movies, and City Streets* (to be published by The Macmillan Company).

in an eastern city, where the teacher of a trade course recently reversed her official attitude and allowed her girl students to introduce pertinent comments regarding movie actresses, and even permitted a judicious use of the fan magazines, a marked improvement in classroom morale and in the interest of the students resulted.

In the beauty-culture course the girls were continually bringing in movie magazines which they read surreptitiously at every chance I gave them. One girl, whose family I knew were receiving public relief, nevertheless felt she too must have her movie magazines and must be able to go weekly to the neighborhood theater. I even had to punish some of the girls for reading the magazines when they should have been studying.

Later one day I happened to see a picture of an actress which illustrated a coiffure about which I was speaking. This was the beginning of a new policy. I found that a discussion of the hairdress of actresses aided greatly in interesting the girls. Today there is a much better morale in the group and a much more cordial attitude towards me.⁴

This is but one illustration of countless ways by which the school, in its policies and practices, could recognize and adjust its program to a situation which already exists. It is also possible for the school, through motion-picture appreciation courses and other ways, to exert a positive influence in the child's selection and response to photoplays. The developing movement for "Better Films Committees" in local communities requires integration with school programs. The wider use of motion pictures in school programs and as aids in visual instruction represents a tremendous field for educational advance and coördination.

⁴Interview with trade-school teacher.

EXPERIMENTS IN INFORMAL EDUCATION

I. BLOCK RECREATION PROJECT

FRANK KAPLAN

Little Red School House, New York City

To relate the story of the Block Recreational Project, we must go further back than its beginning to a time (September 1930) when a group of undergraduate and graduate college students invaded the Greenwich Village district of New York in search of sociological material on the younger and older boy in a changing, urban environment. These students plunged into the neighborhood, joined settlement and street gangs, played games, attended church and parties, etc., all this to view their subjects in the different phases of their life's activities by participating in them.

Gangs of boys were found who, although in close proximity to a social center (parish, evening-school playground, neighborhood house) were still lounging on corners and getting into trouble. Organized boys' clubs and settlement houses were active, but were few and far between. Rather than walk ten or more blocks to such centers, most boys preferred to stay within their own block limits and join a predatory gang. To join a neighborhood house (which in reality was not their own) "and to be bossed and told what to do and what not to do," all this did not appeal to them. What was to be done with this type of boy who was not being attracted or reached by these wholesome recreational activities?

"Bring the recreational facilities to the boy on his own block," some one said. Things happen fast when an idea like this is born. These gangs were approached on their own blocks and with little or no financial backing they were encouraged to set up clubhouses of their own.

Clubrooms were found in empty stores, basements, damaged buildings, etc., which local real-estate agents allowed the boys to use during unoccupancy rather than see them destroyed as they surely would be if allowed to remain

vacant too long. Older boys, residing in the immediate vicinity, were put in charge as club leaders, given training in leadership, and paid a small sum to ensure responsibility.

Work was immediately begun. Walls were repaired, papered, and painted. Ceilings were washed. Most extraordinary furnishings were dragged in, but the boys were satisfied. All this was achieved at an insignificant cost, for local painters and paper hangers coöperated by giving the boys remnants of paint and wallpaper, while friendly neighbors gave them furniture, the boys making everything else themselves.

The boys assumed all responsibility for their own places, trying all sorts of expedients to maintain them. To this end, they showed motion pictures to their younger brothers and sisters for the price of two cents. When this device failed to raise enough money for the electricity, heat, and repair bills, they set up a boxing ring in their backyard, and on warm days arranged boxing matches for a small admission fee. And, indeed, it was not unusual to have both father and mother attend the motion-picture show and boxing contest.

Nor was the job of raising money to support the clubhouse their only responsibility. For the first time they saw the value of maintaining a block and community reputation. For a club member to get in trouble with any authorities would undoubtedly mean the loss of their meeting place. The club had to be repaired and cleaned daily. When materials or equipment had to be bought, the boys did the buying. Circumstances did not permit any loafing. You couldn't just sit around and do nothing in these centers. Game rooms had to be set up and permission for various activities, such as basketball, swimming, etc., had to be obtained from some local institutions having recreational facilities. Membership meant active participation and coöperation.

One cannot fully appreciate the enthusiasm with which the boys made use of these centers. Each gang had a clubroom in which it could tinker to its heart's content.

Each member could, and did, keep in it his bicycle or his fondest pets and treasures, all of which were thrown out by "Ma." He could build airplanes or play cards. He was not forced into any program which was deemed by outsiders to be valuable for him, but he could follow, entirely unconscious of the guidance of his leader, interests which were vitally important to him. Any activity which he did as a duty was forced upon him by the accepted and natural pressure of his own group, which he accepted willingly as a member. In short, the clubroom was built around the boy and his gang, meeting his needs and desires and not handicapped by any rigid program or organization.

Moreover, the neighborhood authorities were in sympathy with the movement. It pleased the real-estate agents, since the boys, by taking care of their own property, began to show a respect for the other persons' property. Police and crime-prevention authorities praised it, not only because there were fewer complaints, but also because it attracted a type of boy who had proved to be a considerable nuisance to the neighbors. The boy himself could appreciate the difference of attitude of the corner cops who, instead of constantly menacing him and chasing him, dropped in occasionally to warm up and perhaps tinker with the radio and talk over other problems.

The officials of the settlement house welcomed the block clubroom because it supplemented their work by giving them feelers into outlying sections and attracting a type of boy whom they could not reach. Probation authorities saw in it a much-needed method of attracting into organized and supervised recreational activities those delinquent boys who had appeared before a court. It especially appealed to the parents of these boys who belonged to the club, since the close proximity of a clubroom enabled them to account for their son's time and actions.

Even though the Block Recreational Project has not been active this year, during its two-year period of experimentation it made great strides over the more conventional clubwork set-up and program. The block clubroom set-up

offers a far greater flexibility in adapting a program to the needs and desires of a gang of boys. Here are not buildings constructed twenty years ago for needs at that time. A clubroom can be turned into a shop, gameroom, or so changed as to meet the desires of the group. You may, if you wish, even paint on the walls. This is no rigid organization where programs are fitted to the building instead of to the boys.

Here provision is made for a boy's world, not a boy's world dictated by a group of uncomprehending adults. Provision is made for places which the city boy can call his own and where he can do as he pleases under wholesome auspices, where there is as much an opportunity for the development of his own initiative as self-expression, of self-responsibility as group responsibility, of individuality as well as coöperation. Not a theoretical parental interest, but a practical one is instituted since all clubwork is under the scrutiny of the parents themselves.

Such a clubroom inevitably gives rise to practical situations which necessitate a recognition of community standards and requirements and a growing ability to adapt one's activities to these requirements. The assumption by the boys of the solution of their own problems and also of the maintenance of a block and community reputation makes civic education real, practical, and spontaneous. Enough practical experience is furnished for the development of a constructive, as opposed to destructive, attitude towards personal and private property. Little attention is paid to individual behavior problems, but more to the setting up of purposeful situations, experiences, and activities.

A successful carrying out of the plan has by no means been attained. Its problems are still many. The acquisition of a suitable local leadership which must devote a good deal of time is still troublesome. The presentation of an activities program which embodies all the principles of progressive education by a group of local leaders is no easy task. Inducements of all sorts must be offered. The experimental attitude, therefore, continues to be maintained

as to the activities and organization of the block recreational program.

II. THE PENNY GAME ROOM

ABRAHAM GOLDFELD

Director, Lavanburg Home Foundation, New York City

The Penny Game Room idea originated about three years ago when the Lavanburg Foundation, organized for the promotion of better housing, remodeled a tenement house in a squalid, crowded, Italian section on the Lower East Side. Since there were vacant stores in the building, it was decided to use two of them for recreational purposes for the children of the neighborhood.

A cursory study of the recreational facilities in the vicinity disclosed the fact that most settlements were not accessible and that few offered activities to the children under fourteen years of age. It meant that the children of this age group must shift for themselves and spend their evenings either in the dull, overcrowded tenement flats or on the streets which are full of opportunities for adventure. These escapades, while frequently harmless at the onset, often lead to antisocial behavior. It is for this group that the Game Room was organized.

At the official opening on November 15, 1931, eighty-eight children appeared. However, the news spread rapidly and the second night brought one hundred and twenty-five boys and girls. Since the capacity of the two combined stores holds at the maximum about seventy-five persons, this caused considerable confusion; games such as checkers and dominos disappeared, tables were overthrown, and windowpanes were broken. In order to overcome this problem, it was decided to operate the Game Room three nights a week for boys and three nights for girls. This arrangement has worked satisfactorily for the past three years.

The boys and girls were very unruly and difficult to handle at first and it was necessary to enlist the coöperation of the Crime Prevention Bureau officers to assist in

handling the problem. It was learned that a good many of the boys attending the Game Room were on probation for some delinquency. Gradually, the group was won over by organizing the boys into a club and treating some of them individually. Since the opening of the Game Room many of the boys have outgrown the activities and a number of them have been contacted with Clark House, the neighborhood settlement. Some of them continue to visit the Game Room, however, to assist in supervising the younger boys.

The Game Rooms are equipped with ping-pong tables, carom, checkers, dominoes, a pool table, mats for wrestling, and two baskets for basketball throwing. There is one trained worker in charge who is assisted by two tenants of the house. The cost of the original equipment and supervision from November 15, 1931, to May 31, 1932, amounted to \$475.96 and the income from penny admissions to \$71.98. In 1933, \$71.27 was spent on equipment and supplies, \$240 on supervision, and \$50.93 was received in admissions.

Due to limited space, the boys' activities are rather meager and the attendance is not as large as that of the girls. At the latter's request, cooking, arts and crafts, and a social club have been organized. The girls have made such articles as berets, pillow tops, scarfs, handbags, and pot holders, and on two occasions have prepared macaroni dinners. During these periods, conversation flows freely and the girls become quite confidential and discuss their personal problems with the leader. In several instances this had led to adjustments of their individual difficulties.

Because of the interest of the boys in active sports, they have been divided up into teams for basketball, and the gymnasium of a neighborhood public school is used once a week for practice and competitive games with other teams.

Our experience of three years has proved that the children are interested in a center of this type to such an extent that they are willing to part with a penny each time

they attend. Their interest is not a temporary one, since most of them have been coming regularly since the Game Room opened. Although the older boys are introduced to other settlements when they outgrow our activities, the little ones supply new material to work with. The set-up is different from the one organized on the Lower West Side and described in preceding paragraphs by Kaplan in that it works with children on an individual basis. That is, children come in not as a gang or a club but as individual members. The advantage of this arrangement is that at no time will a whole group abandon the recreational center leaving the rooms and equipment unused. Recreational workers in settlement houses have had the experience of a whole group of boys leaving the settlement at the same time due to some reason such as difficulty with the leader or dissatisfaction with rules.

The most outstanding characteristic of the Penny Game Room is that it is so easily set up and dissolved. The cost of operating is very low and it can be established within a short time where there are a large number of children for whom no provision for recreation is available.

A SPECIAL OFFER

The Menace of Narcotic Drugs, by E. George Payne, 294 pages, 5x7½ (list price, \$1.50) will be given at no cost to new subscribers to *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, or to old subscribers who renew *now*, for a later expiration date, at the \$3.00 rate. Address communications to the Secretary, *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, 26 Washington Place, New York, N. Y.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in kindred fields of interest to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

THE SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS FOR EDUCATION IN A GIVEN URBAN AREA¹

Education has more or less drifted along, following classical and traditional lines with only sporadic and feeble efforts to bring it into harmony with social conditions and the needs arising out of such conditions. The thesis is advanced that it is necessary (1) to know intimately the material backgrounds of social organization in which education functions; (2) to discover the detailed facts of the backgrounds and programs of institutions and organizations of various kinds which affect education; and (3) to make a careful analysis of social interaction and public opinion which affect and determine the forms that the educational program shall take. The Lower West Side Study attempts to accomplish in part the first of these objectives with the stated purpose of making clear three contributions: (1) the complex background of the urban area chosen, (2) detailed data which will be useful to individuals, institutions, and organizations which function in the area, and (3) a test of existing theory regarding urban social interaction with the possibility of correcting or adding to such knowledge.

The area of this study, the Lower West Side of Manhattan, New York City, was chosen because of the wide variety of forms of social organization found there and represented in factory and warehouse areas, the financial center, the waterfront, tenement and restricted residence sections, the so-called Bohemian life with its local color affecting growth and change, and an interesting historical background which conditions

¹The following statement has been provided by C. G. Swanson, director of the Lower West Side Study.

the previously named factors. This area is a triangle bounded on the north by Fourteenth Street, on the east by Broadway, and on the southwest by the Hudson River.

The data as gathered and presented are divided into three parts. The first of these parts deals with matters distinctly objective and material in nature. After a review of the history of the area, the population is analyzed as to nationality, age, sex, income, distribution, location, and distributive shifts. This is followed by an analysis of land and real-estate values and changes, after which a brief review of business is presented. The matter of housing is taken up in some detail with an analysis of the number and distribution of "old-law" residences, "new-law" residences, private dwellings, renovated residences, and rooming houses. Rental data is included in this study and an attempt is made to classify multiple-dwellings according to existing facilities in relation to rent per room. This is followed by an analysis of transportation facilities, with a diagrammatic presentation of the service areas of rapid-transit facilities.

The second part of the study includes first an analysis of recreational activities, particularly a study of playgrounds, where service areas and facilities are presented in graphic form. A section is included on the child's social world, attempting to present further data on the new concept of the child as a person, organizing his own social world to provide otherwise nonexistent satisfactions. This is followed by an analysis of delinquency and crime, particularly in two fields; namely, juvenile delinquency and a statistical study of prostitution. The material on education, which follows, includes two parts; first, an analysis of the child population according to the school-census records and, second, a study of schools and other existing agencies of education with an evaluation of their programs and suggestions for change. Another section is added on the local color of Greenwich Village, with an analysis of the Bohemian group and its effects on the area. The final portion of the second part of the study is an attempt to divide the whole area into its most important natural areas, with maps of each, showing outstanding characteristics.

The third and final part of this investigation is concerned mainly with summary and conclusions, particularly as related to the school and other agencies promoting educational activities.

This whole study is based upon a social base map which was first developed and is conceived as being the basis of the whole study although it occupies but small space in the finished report. This map, which is 26 by 45 inches in size, includes data showing the outline of census tracts; factory, business, and residential areas; street numbers; types of buildings by number in each residential block; transportation facilities; important centers, such as buildings, institutions,

parks, etc.; population by blocks; business addresses of major professions; and nationality areas.

A Social Background Data Sheet²

There is a definite need for a simple and short scale to find the socio-economic status of pupils. Often a research study may have socio-economic status as one of its factors that needs to be measured and controlled. For example, socio-economic status as measured by either the Sims scale or the scale here described correlated .53 with the scores for personal and social adjustment on the Woodworth-Mathews Personal Data Sheet.³ The Sims scores for socio-economic status correlated —.49 with school-deception tests and —.31 with home-deception tests, and .51 with the Burdick Apperception Test for measuring cultural aspects of the home background.⁴ The functional relationships between these factors have important implications.

The Sims Score Card for Socio-Economic Status⁵ has undoubtedly been one of the most widely used scales for securing an index of selected economic and social factors in the home background. The Social Background Data Sheet is much shorter and easier to administer than the Sims Score Card, and its scores correlate .90 with the scores of the Sims Score Card. Hence it has been tentatively assumed to be as reliable as the Sims Score Card.

The data sheet and key for scoring, so far as they have been adapted at the present time, follow:

SOCIAL BACKGROUND DATA SHEET

(*Grades 4 to 12*)

Name..... Age..... School.....

1. a) What is your father's occupation (what does he do to earn a living when he is employed)?

²This statement has been provided by J. Wayne Wrightstone, Institute of School Experimentation, Teachers College, Columbia University.

³J. W. Wrightstone, "Validity of the Woodworth-Mathews Personal Data Sheet for Diagnosing Certain Personality Disorders," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, XXV (January 1934), p. 43.

⁴H. Hartshorne, and M. A. May, *Studies in Deceit* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928), p. 228.

⁵Vernon Martin Sims, *The Measurement of Socio-Economic Status* (Bloomington, Illinois: Public School Publishing Company, 1928), 33 pp.

- b) Does he have a title (such as president, manager, boss, etc.) at his place of work? What title?
- c) Of how many persons is he boss or manager?
2. a) Give the total number of persons actually living in your home including brothers, sisters, parents, friends, or boarders.
- b) How many rooms, not counting bathroom or basement, are there in your home?
3. a) Do you have a radio in your home?
- b) Do you have a piano in your home?
- c) Do you have a library of the following number of books in your home? Underline the number nearest correct: 50 books, 100 books, 200 books, 300 books, 400 books, more than 400 books.
- d) Does your family have an automobile?
- e) Do you have a telephone in your home?

KEY FOR SCORING SOCIAL BACKGROUND DATA SHEET

1. Father's occupation

Professional (architects, authors, doctors, lawyers, engineers, etc.) 40 points

Commercial (accountants, agents, teachers, small business of 5 to 10 men) 30 points

Small proprietor (foreman, small business of 1 to 5 men) 20 points

Skilled worker (barber, clerk, etc., small shop owner) 10 points

Unskilled worker (common labor, domestics) 0 points

2. Home

Note the number of brothers and sisters given. Add three to this number. This is the number of people in the family. Note the number of rooms in the house. Divide this by the number of persons in the home (carry to one decimal) and convert the ratio into scores as follows:

Rooms in Home Divided by Persons in Home

Less than .4—0 points

.4 through .9—10 points

1.0 through 1.5—20 points

1.6 through 2.1—30 points

2.2 through higher—40 points

TABLE I

RATIO OF PERSONS TO ROOMS

Social Background Data Sheet

<i>Number of Persons in House</i>	<i>Number of Rooms in House</i>											
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
2	1.00	1.50	2.00	2.50	3.00	3.50	4.00	4.50	5.00	5.50	6.00	
3	.66	1.00	1.33	1.66	2.00	2.33	2.66	3.00	3.33	3.66	4.00	
4	.50	.75	1.00	1.25	1.50	1.75	2.00	2.25	2.50	2.75	3.00	
5	.40	.60	.80	1.00	1.20	1.40	1.60	1.80	2.00	2.20	2.40	
6	.33	.50	.66	.84	1.00	1.12	1.33	1.50	1.66	1.84	2.00	
7	.30	.43	.60	.71	.86	1.00	1.14	1.28	1.43	1.60	1.71	
8	.25	.38	.50	.63	.75	.88	1.00	1.13	1.25	1.38	1.50	
9	.22	.33	.44	.55	.66	.78	.88	1.00	1.11	1.22	1.33	
10	.20	.30	.40	.50	.60	.70	.80	.90	1.00	1.10	1.20	

3. Other home data

Give 4 points for the answer "yes" to each of the following items:
 a radio in the home, a piano, a library (100 books, 1 point;
 200 books, 2 points; 300 books, 3 points; 400 books, 4 points),
 a telephone, an automobile.

Add the scores. The total score will range from 0 to 100 and is
 a measure of socio-economic status.

The comparative scores for the Sims Score Card for Socio-Economic
 Status and for the Social Background Data Sheet are given at various
 percentile levels in Table II.

TABLE II

COMPARATIVE SCORES ON SIMS SCORE CARD FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS
 AND THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND DATA SHEET

Percentiles	Sims Score Card for Socio-Economic Status	Social Background Data Sheet	Qualitative Description by Sims
10th.....	10	27	Medium
20th.....	14	41	.....
30th.....	23	70	High
40th.....	25	76	Very high
50th.....	27	81	.....
60th.....	28	86	.....
70th.....	30	91	Highest
80th.....	31	95	.....
90th.....	33	99	.....
100th.....	37	100	Indeterminately high

These comparative scores are based upon approximately 200 cases;
 therefore, they should be considered as very tentative. However, they
 do present an index of the significance of the scores when they are
 compared with one another. To those educators who wish to equate
 or to measure the status of pupils by economic and social factors in
 the home, the Social Background Data Sheet is recommended. It will
 give results that correlate highly with the Sims Score Card.

BOOK REVIEWS

Molders of the American Mind, by NORMAN WOELFEL.
New York: Columbia University Press, 1933, 304
pages.

The views of seventeen persons in the educational field are here set forth and critically examined. These seventeen are divided into three groups: (1) those stressing traditional values; (2) those stressing the ultimacy of science; and (3) those stressing modern experimental naturalism. The persons in group one are, in order, Herman H. Horne, Henry C. Morrison, William C. Bagley, Ellwood P. Cubberley, Thomas H. Briggs, and Ross L. Finney. Those in group two are Charles H. Judd, David Snedden, E. L. Thorndike, Ernest Horn, W. W. Charters, and Franklin Bobbitt. Those in group three are John Dewey, George S. Counts, W. H. Kilpatrick, Harold Rugg, and B. H. Bode. This ambitious and stirring volume with its surprising Herbartian title will provoke controversy as to the accuracy of the groupings, the adequacy of the expositions, and the merit of the criticisms.

Emile Durkheim on the Division of Labor in Society,
translated by GEORGE SIMPSON. New York: The
Macmillan Company, 1933, 439 pages.

The translation of *De La Division Du Travail Social* of Emile Durkheim will fill a very definite need which has been felt by most English-speaking sociologists. Emile Durkheim is considered one of the most important contemporary sociologists, and, although many articles have been written about Durkheim and his work, it has been quite difficult to understand his social theory through secondary sources. It is in this great work that Durkheim has analyzed social solidarity. He divides his book into two sections: In the first, he attempts to correlate the forms of the division of labor with other social phenomena which he calls functions; and, in the second part, after arriving at the functions of the division of labor, he sets out to understand its causes and conditions.

Whither Asia? A Study of Three Leaders, by KENNETH
SAUNDERS. New York: The Macmillan Company,
1933, 221 pages.

Although it is difficult at times to harmonize the fine optimism of the author with the events of 1933, he has nevertheless given a clear-cut, factual analysis of the historical background of each country, the ideals and program of each of his selected leaders, and their influence in answering his question, "Whither Asia?"

The New Leisure Challenges the Schools, by EUGENE T. LIES. Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1933, 321 pages.

Departing from the usual formal method of reporting the results of investigation, the author has demonstrated the need of a new outlook upon the aims of education, and presented a veritable gold mine of concrete suggestions for carrying such objectives into realization through the atmosphere of the school, the spirit and techniques of the teacher, and the school subjects, curricular and extracurricular. Poor, indeed, must the teacher be who cannot find through a careful reading of these pages both inspiration and concrete help in enriching the lives of our boys and girls while in the school, and in assisting them in laying the foundation for a wise choice of leisure in out-of-school and later adult life.

The Eugenic Predicament, by S. J. HOLMES. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1933, 232 pages.

As indicated by the title, Professor Holmes does not take a one-sided stand on an admittedly difficult problem, but approaches it from an objectively scientific point of view. This would be expected from the author's previous writings on experimental anatomy, genetics, and eugenics. His present book gives a brilliant summary of the facts regarding inheritance of mental ability, both inferior and superior, eugenic methods, and the probabilities and possibilities which may be expected of these methods. Every student, whether interested in the future of the race or merely in the education of the present generation, would do well to read this unusually balanced book.

The Way of All Women, by M. ESTHER HARDING. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1933, 335 pages.

With the penetrating gaze of the analyst, the author scrutinizes the individual woman. Her relationships to man, to children, home, and motherhood, to a profession, to youth and love, and old age and death are successively interpreted in terms of the psychological school that she represents. Then she turns to historical woman now facing the "cultural task of a new age." The old feminism is regarded as a phase of a prolonged attempt to break away from a rôle which did not express the totality of woman nature. Contemporary development of the "new" home, based on feminine friendship without benefit of the masculine element, represents in a rudimentary stage feminine effort to actualize human relationship.

Adolescence: Life's Spring-Cleaning Time, by BEVERLEY R. TUCKER. Boston: The Stratford Company, 1933, x+121 pages.

This book is an excellent little volume dealing with preadolescence and adolescence of both the normal and abnormal. Adolescent disturb-

ances are discussed. The underlying organic neurological conditions and mental habits are considered. The influence of endocrine disorders, brain lesions, brain inflammation, general cerebral conditions, spinal-cord lesions, peripheral nerve conditions, and a number of functional neurological conditions are passed in review. The effect of changed glandular secretions, the sex question, and epileptic and convulsive states are discussed. The book is a valuable supplement to the literature on the subject.

The Fusion of Social Studies in Junior High Schools, by HOWARD E. WILSON. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933, 211 pages.

This is an analysis of the idea of fusion courses in social studies in the junior high school. The author attempted to determine the theory of fusion and to estimate the value of the theory after it was determined. He investigated the content of many types of courses and came to the conclusion that fusion courses do not offer as great educational possibilities as do subject courses. The fact that teachers are not prepared for fusion teaching was a significant element in the conclusion.

The Effect of Participation in Athletics Upon Scholarship Measured by Achievement Tests, by JOHN ANDREW COOPER. State College, Pa.: The Pennsylvania State College Press, 1933, 9 pages.

This study substantiates previous studies in that nonathletic groups do slightly better work than athletes. It adds to the previous work by its improved techniques and by the indication that differing institutional athletic policies may affect the comparisons of athletes and non-athletes. In two of the colleges studied the athletes showed superiority in all comparisons, while in three others the athletes showed inferiority.

Behind the Doctor, by LOGAN CLENDENING. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1933, 458 pages.

Behind the Doctor is an unfolding drama, an epic in education told with simplicity, mastery, and charm. It is not a mere history of medicine, worth while as such a work would be. It is an integrated account of man's search for truth and knowledge. It is a saga concerned with man's emancipation from superstition, witchery, and fear. The reviewer feels that here is a volume which should be familiar to intelligent people in general and especially to teachers and educators.

Modern Germany: A Study of Conflicting Loyalties, by PAUL KOSOK. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1933, xxi+348 pages.

This volume is based upon six years of painstaking research and presents a comprehensive analysis of the conflicting forces which effect the character of civic training in Germany. It is historical only to the extent of pointing out the background of social forces; its major emphasis is upon the agencies of the State: political parties, bureaucracy, the

army and the schools, and nonstate organizations and elements: church, youth movement, press, etc. This study is one of the series of researches in civic education in eight countries published by the University of Chicago Press.

American Labor and the Nation, edited by SPENCER MILLER, JR. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1933.

This volume contains the text of a series of radio addresses made during 1932 under the auspices of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education. In the main, the addresses were delivered by men prominent in the American labor movement as, for example, William Green, Matthew Woll, and John L. Lewis. Among the subjects treated are collective bargaining, labor in politics, labor and education, and unemployment.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Outlook in Education, by I. L. KANDEL. Studies and Reports No. II, University of London Institute of Education. New York: Oxford University Press.

Persons One and Three, by Shepherd Ivory Franz. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

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